Daily Report

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Hoxha's Widow Said Jailed on Alia's Orders

NC0505115090 Paris AFP in English 1031 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Athens, May 5 (AFP)—The widow of Albanian leader Enver Hoxha has been jailed in Tirana on the orders of his successor President Ramiz Alia, according to a leader of the ethnic Greek Epirotes community from southern Albania.

Konstandinos Gigas, head of the Epirotes Association, told Agence France-Presse he had three different sources for the imprisonment of Nexhamia Hoxha.

The managing director of the Albanian daily newspaper Dielli (The Sun) which is published in New York, an Albanian refugee who arrived in Greece on April 28 and reports from a radio station at Skopje in southern Yugoslavia had all said she was in prison, Mr. Gigas claimed, but he would not give the names of the refugee or the newspaper man.

The Greek right-wing daily ELEVTHEROS TIPOS has published Mr. Gigas' claim.

A spokesman for the Albanian embassy here, Sino Sinorouka, denied that Mrs. Hoxha had been either arrested or jailed.

Nexhmije Hoxha at Meeting

AU0505184990

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 5 May broadcasts extensive reports on activities carried out in Tirana and other districts on the occasion of Martyrs Day, attended by various party and state leaders.

Nexhmije Hoxha, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee member and president of the Democratic Front of Albania General Council, is reported to have attended a meeting with families of war martyrs and war veterans at the National Historical Museum in Tirana.

The report does not state whether she was handcuffed or not.

Commissions Prepare for Full Assembly Session

AU0505150290 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 5 (ATA)—The preparations of the Judicial Commission for the coming session of the People's Assembly ended in Tirana on May 4.

At the meeting of this commission, the deputies discussed on the draft laws concerning the changes to the Penal Code, the Code of Penal and Civil Procedure, for creating the Ministry of Law, Advocacy, etc. The minister, secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Enver Halili; the chairman of General Investigation Office, Qemal Lame; the general prosecutor, Rrapi Mino, gave explanations to the questions put at the meeting. The deputies said that the working people of the collectives where they work, and electors have expressed their approval for these changes, and have made suggestions and proposals, which were forwarded at the meeting.

The chairman of this commission, the deputy of Diber District, Dashuri Gjunkshi, stressed that the changes to these draft laws according to the ideas of the 9th and 10th plenums of the party Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia express the promotion of socialist democracy, the improvement of our socialist legislation and put on a more righteous relations on the defense of the interests of state and society with those of citizen.

Alia Continues Tour of Districts

AU0405134290 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT 4 May 90

["The Priorities of the New Economic Mechanism Will Become Evident Working With Productivity and Creativeness—From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia at the Meeting With the Cadres of Gjirokaster District"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—After greeting the people of Gjirokaster, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on some problems of the correct understanding of the decisions adopted at the 10th plenum. Speaking further on about this question he said:

The democratisation of the socioeconomic life and the growth of the driving forces of our society are principal objectives of the party's activity in the current circumstances. These aims were all-sided reflected in the 9th plenum of the Central Committee. They were reflected in the promotion of the line of masses everywhere and the struggle against red tape, in the elaboration of a program of measures for the perfection of the relations in production and the basic legislation and the strengthening of the active role of the foreign policy of the country. The 10th plenum of the Central Committee promoted these objectives and materialized them with specific measures and practical actions. It is a continuation of the previous plenums, continuation of the whole party's line.

The deputies, the organs of the state and economy, are preparing for the coming session of the People's Assembly, which will judge and decide on the problems of the perfection of the mechanism of the economy and the socialist legislation. In the discussion on these numerous and complex question, the main directions are being defined. The work of the party will focus on at present and in the future in order to see as soon as possible the advantages of the proposed measures.

The enhancing of the working people's consciousness on the need of the foreseen changes and their mobilization to put them into life is a decisive factor in all the work we have to do. Experience shows that this step is successfully taken when each working collective and individual

sees in the orientations of the party their own vital interests, opening of new vistas for progress and well-being. The decisions of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee create real possibilities to increase the labor productivity and the economic effectiveness and to augment the incomes for the working people.

During the discussion in the economic organisms and in the base, it is said that the already adopted measures will yield the desired result if they are accompanied with a regular material-technical supply. It is clear that production cannot progress without the necessary structure of raw materials and other materials, without currency sources, and without the necessary machineries and equipment. But this material-technical base is not guaranteed by itself. It depends on the realization of the plans of production and export, on the efforts to spare and on the scientific thinking.

Economic mechanism which will operate in the independent account enterprises will make possible that they possess in the bank important accumulation, amounting to billions of leks as a whole. Hence the enterprise earns the right to provide and possess itself the incomes belonging to it, to finance the expansion of production and other needs. But the destination of these funds is set by the state plan. Practice will be the best, but it is necessary that the phenomena in the course of the changes we are making and of the speedy improvements in organization, methodology, and style of work of the central organs, be envisaged in order to enhance the initiative of the grass root.

The economic methods and levers of improved economic mechanism will be introduced gradually during 1990 and fully in the coming year. Their effect in practice will be broad and will be felt in while drawing the draft plan in all levels for 1991. The independent account management demands collective and personal material stimuli.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia treated of some problems of the original road of socialist development in Albania. After pointing out some major achievements of the latest decades, he stressed the role of the masses' initiative for the promotion of this process. He especially dwelt upon the peasantry's self-action in solving the problems of its supply. Regarding this question, Comrade Ramiz said among others:

The party highly evaluates the peasants' revolutionary spirit and readiness to give fresh impulse to the development of livestock, through cooperativist yard. The promotion of the people's nutritious program demands that speedy quantitative and qualitative improvements be carried out for the livestock and its yields. I express the party's conviction that these objectives will be attained in every district and zone of the country, activating living forces in the countryside.

The meetings with workers and cooperativists, veterans and youngsters, with specialists and cadres in the districts of Korce, Kolonje, and here in Gjirokaster, make us more confident of the success of the economic and social program approved by the party at the ninth and 10th plenums of the Central Committee. Marching on this road, our socialist order strengthens and the living conditions of the people incessantly improve.

At the end, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on how we should understand the current world situation and the foreign policy of the party and state according to the decisions of the 10th plenum. Speaking about relations with various countries, he underlined that the Albanian people will always meet friendship with friendship, but, he stressed, our people will never accept dictate, pressures, or arrogance of the others on Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia left, congratulating the participants in this meeting for the successes and wishing them further achievements.

Further on Gjirokaster

AU0505150690 Tirana ATA in English 0756 GMT 5 May 90

["Comrade Ramiz Alia Meets With the People of Kardhiq in the District of Gjirokaster"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—Today, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, went to the zone of Kardhiq, Gjirokaster District, associated by the first secretary of the district party committee, Manxhar Binaj, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the district people's council, Flamur Cani. There he met with local inhabitants.

Following a warm conversation with the cooperativists of the zone, Comrade Ramiz Alia greeted them on behalf of the party Central Committee. He evoked the outstanding patriotic and freedom-loving traditions of this zone, the struggles and sacrifices of the whole people of Laberia and Kurvelesh for the cause of the homeland. He laid the stress particularly on their contribution during the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War.

After appreciating the achievements of this zone and of the whole district of Gjirokaster in the socialist construction, the development of agriculture, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt extensively on some problems of further development of the livestock. All this region is turned into an intensification zone for raising small cattle. The whole Gjirokaster is known as a district with a developed stock-raising. It is high time for qualitative changes in all the indices of the livestock. The conditions exist that this branch develop more rapidly as a sector to which priority is given.

Speaking further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia underscored the unity of the people round the party, as factor of social and political stability prevailing in our country. In every situation, he said, the internal factor is decisive and determinant. It is important that the decisions of the 10th plenum have served precisely the strengthening of these factors.

The 10th plenum, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, demands from everyone, worker, peasant, specialist, and writer to do a more valuable work for society in the front where he works. Our people must exert all their forces to promote the socialist construction under the leadership of the party on the road the people themselves have chosen. This is the road of strengthening the freedom and independence of the homeland, the road of the all-sided development of our beloved Albania.

Socialist construction, said Comrade Ramiz Alia further on, needs such measures contributing to the development of all the sectors of the social life, that inspire for actions to augment effectiveness of the work, to enhance the initiative of the working people on the road of harmonizing their interests with those of the collective and state. The new economic mechanism that will be practised soon, represents that indispensable level that paves the road to the creative energies of the people, the all-sided development of economy and culture.

The decisions adopted at the 10th plenum are a continuation of the tradition of our party, which has never been rigid, but it has acted with a sound dialectic logic, adopting the necessary attitudes in all the situations arisen.

At this meeting , Comrade Ramiz Alia also spoke on problems of the international situation, the attitude of our party and state toward current developments. The foreign policy, pursued by our country, stressed he, has contributed and contributes to the strengthening of Albania's international position, the consolidation of its freedom and independence, people's sovereignty. This policy, continued Comrade Ramiz Alia, aims at creating as favorable conditions as possible so that the people fight for the prosperity of the homeland and their well-being.

Comrade Ramiz Alia laid the stress on the wide repercussion the decisions of the 10th plenum regarding the foreign policy have aroused throughout the world. These decisions, he said, have enhanced the concern of peoples' community for Albania and have strengthened its engagement and activity in the international development. Our stand, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, respond to the global changes that have taken place particularly the changes regarding the others's stand towards Albania.

From there, Comrade Ramiz Alia arrived in the town of Tepelene.

Present Independence Praised

AU0605162290 Tirana ATA in English
0759 GMT 6 May 90

["Victory Which Merits Even the Supreme Price—From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia With Members of the Martyr's Families of Tepelene District"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 5 (ATA)—After greeting with those present Comrade Ramiz spoke of the historic importance of the martyrs' deed and the contribution of Tepelene District during the national Liberation War.

Then Comrade Ramiz said:

For centuries on end the history has faced our people with the alternative: to exist or to extinguish, to live free or be oppressed. Under these historic conditions, always at stake as a nation and as a country, for the Albanians freedom and independence have been the greatest aspiration.

The Albanian has been conscious that freedom and independence are priceless, that he has to pay them at any price, even by sacrificing his own life. He has chosen the struggle for freedom to submission without fearing death. Human and material sacrifices are countless. The blood shed in Albania during the Second World War was not superfluous. But it did not spare the 28 thousand martyrs, boys and girls in the prime of their youth, who shed their blood in the foundation of the Albania we have today. It was a painful sacrifice, but indispensable to open the way to the future.

The martyrs of the National Liberation War repeated an epopee written so much times in this soil. They followed the glorious trails of the people's traditional heroism and under the leadership of the party and Enver Hoxha honored themselves as sons and daughters of fighters, as a generation ready to take upon itself the difficult duties of history.

Our party and people evoke the past in token of memory and respect of those great ideals stemming from it.

We, who took part in the war, dreamt for an Albania of the people, without foreigners' yokes, without oppression and exploitation of any kind, where everyone lives honorably and fully enjoys the fruits of his own toil.

Such is the present Albania. Its ideals, of its people stem directly from the war. Therefore 5 May has been and will be a commemorative day, a day which strengthens the national feeling and develops the consciousness of the party and people on their obligations to the past and the commitments to the future.

The freedom and independence we are enjoying today, the citizens rights, the political, social, and economic ones can never be compared to those of the earlier years, even to those two decades ago. They are strengthened with the economic independence, with the all-round development of man's individuality.

In Albania the people is in power, all its assets serve the people, their well-being and happiness. The time has gone when the others decided on the destiny of our country. Albania protects its own destiny at home and on the international arena as well.

The party and people have always proceeded from the premises that freedom and national independence are

the basic condition and determine the free development and the complete realization of the rights belonging to our citizens. It is a demagogy and defraud to speak of freedom and civil rights without state freedom and independence.

Only a state really independent and unconditional in defining the political stands, the relations with the others, might guarantee social justice and broad development of the individual.

For the national freedom and independence the war never ends. Today's sweat is yesterday's blood, militancy in the construction work is a continuation of the war time heroism.

The decisions the party adopted recently at the 10th plenum of its Central Committee have served the strengthening of the international position of Albania, the heightening of its authority in the community of the peoples, the affirmation of its interests on global problems, the neutralization of the enemies' activity and the affirmation of the country's engagement in the Balkan, European, and world processes, in the contemporary developments.

Freedom, independence, power, and socialism cannot be separated. The great deed of the martyrs we are commemorating today with respect, that deed which bears upon itself every progress, every development we realize cannot be separated from these victories.

In conclusion Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke on the enthusiastic situation prevailing all over the country after the 10th plenum.

The national liberation struggle and socialist construction make up an epoch, he said, the epoch of the party and socialism. Therefore the gratitude for the martyrs' deed of the homeland will be endless. The last will of the fallen is materialized in the progress of new Albania.

Alia Ends Tour in Tepelene

AU0605161790 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT 6 May 90

["Comrade Ramiz Alia Lays a Wreath and Pays Homage to the Tepelene War Martyrs' Graves"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 5 (ATA)—The May 5 of this year was very special for Tepelene. On the martyrs' day the leader will go together with the people to pay homage to the unforgettable memory of the sons and daughters of this district who laid down their life for the country's liberation.

At 10 o'clock, the first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia comes to the graves of the district's war martyrs.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, laid a wreath with the inscription "Glory to the Martyrs" near the obelisk raised to the memory of the martyrs.

Meanwhile amidst the enthusiastic applauds of all, Comrade Ramiz Alia meets with members and relatives of the martyrs' families, war veterans, working people, young men and women. On the same day, too, Comrade Ramiz Alia met in one of the halls of the Tepelene District Party Committee with members of the heroes and martyrs' families and with war veterans of the Antifascist National Liberation War.

Amidst the joy of those present the floor at the meeting was taken by Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with interest and was associated with applause and cheers for the party.

Comrade Ramiz Alia wound up the visit to Tepelene District and returned in Tirana on May 5.

Alia Congratulates Karamanlis on Election

AU0505190190 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 May 90

[Undated telegram from People's Assembly Presidium Chairman Ramiz Alia to Greek President Konstandinos Karamanlis]

[Text] Your election to the high post of president of the Greek Republic gives me the pleasure of conveying my sincere greetings and best wishes. I avail myself of this opportunity to express the wish that the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Albania and Greece may be further promoted to benefit good-neighborliness, peace, and security in the Balkans.

Interior Minister on Election Violence

AU0505195490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 May 90

["Declaration" issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and read by Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev on the "Panorama" political survey television program; date not given]

[Text] Our country is fast approaching the first free democratic elections in four decades. Our people's hopes that the elections will become a decisive stage in the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic, humane, and law-governed society can only be justified provided that the elections are held in conditions of mutual tolerance, public calm, law, and order. The creation of such conditions is an obligation for all state bodies and organizations and sociopolitical forces.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs leadership and its territorial divisions are fully aware of their special responsibility.

It is natural that in the election campaign the polarization of the political forces intensifies passions and emotions. On this basis, manifestations have recently occurred that have nothing in common with the standards of a democratic state based on the rule of law. Individual groups and persons, under the cloak of political platforms, are carrying out extremist activities that, if they escalate, may lead to a difficult development of events. There is evidence of attacks on party clubs and the propaganda materials and publications of the parties. There is an increase in anonymous and open threats and the incidence of violence against citizens for having expressed their viewpoints and positions in the mass media, at rallies, and in other circumstances. Calls are being made in certain speeches and statements that give rise to hostility, hatred, and feelings of vengeance. There are increasing examples of the practice, alien to the present time, of grossly slandering one's political opponent. Dangerous speculations are being permitted on questions fateful for the country and the nation, and the ethnic and religious sentiments and convictions of the various strata of the population are being abused.

Local demonstrations are occurring that may exert a negative effect upon the country's international position and foreign policy relations.

There is a dangerous increase in criminal acts. These are becoming much more impudent and daring and are turning into a singular form of applying political pressure on the citizens' awareness. All this creates an atmosphere of insecurity and fear, as well as the conditions for violating the rights of the citizens to freely express their will and political convictions in the forthcoming elections.

In connection with this, the Ministry of Internal Affairs declares the following:

First: It unreservedly supports the National Roundtable agreements on a peaceful and nonviolent transition to a democratic state based on the rule of law and a civic society, and the proposal of the country's president that the political forces should sign a document pledging that they will not permit violence in any form whatsoever in political and social life after the elections.

Second: It will even more consistently and uncompromisingly keep up its activity in the spirit and letter of the country's Constitution and laws. It will not permit affiliation or engagement with any political force or with any ideas or biased attitudes.

Third: It is firmly resolved to guarantee public order, the liberties and rights of citizens, and the placing of the political forces on an equal footing, within the framework of its powers, and to regularly inform the public about all demonstrations that threaten the normal course of the election campaign and the conduct of the elections themselves.

Fourth: It will exert itself to the maximum to fulfill its official obligations in a civilized, humanitarian, and highly professional manner. It will utilize all lawful possibilities for detecting and stopping attempts by Bulgarian and foreign citizens and organizations to influence the election campaign and the results of the elections, where these are in contravention of the Constitution and the international norms and agreements.

Fifth: It will provide the necessary protection for functions in which political figures of the different parties and movements, as well as foreign political and state representatives visiting the country in connection with the elections, take part.

Sixth: It will firmly and uncompromisingly oppose and stop anticonstitutional demonstrations on a nationalistic or religious basis.

Seventh: It will expand its efforts and activities to prevent and stop political and criminal terror, sabotage, deliberate accidents, and fires.

Eighth: It will continue its efforts to seize illegal weapons and ammunition, as well as to safeguard means and materials presenting a danger to the public.

Ninth: It will resolutely step up its actions against criminal and economic offenses and violators of public order, and will apply all legally permitted methods and means against them.

In order to resolve these tasks of guaranteeing the country's stability and calm and of ensuring completely democratic and free elections, the Ministry of Internal Affairs will count on the understanding and trust, and support and active participation, of all political and public organizations and movements, the mass media, all citizens, and guests of Bulgaria.

In this context, the Ministry of Internal Affairs proposes the establishment of an authoritative independent public council with the participation of all the main parties and organizations. It would be one of the guarantees for strict observance of the Law on the Elections and would contribute to the realization of the president's idea on reaching a national agreement on the non-use of force and observance of the law and citizens' rights. We have no doubt that this initiative will be supported by all interested parties, in the name of the advance of our society and country, and for the sake of peace in every Bulgarian home, and for our children and grandchildren, the declaration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs states.

Opposition Concerned With 'Rigged' Elections

AU0605153990 Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 6 May 90

["Opposition Says Elections May Be Rigged"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 6 (BTA)—There are preliminary conditions which point to the possibility of discrediting the elections, the opposition holds. The grounds for this alarm are expressed in a letter by Mr Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Central Electoral Club with the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], saying representatives of the SDS or such indicated by SDS are not included in the forming of the electoral sections throughout the country.

The letter, addressed to President Petur Mladenov, to Prof Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, to the ambassadors of the state participants in the Helsinki process and to the media says already coordinated SDS representatives are taken out of the electoral sections without notification to the local SDS leaderships.

Seeking the president's help, Mr Simeonov thinks at some places the executive authorities totally disregard the roundtable agreements and the law.

Television Chairman Promises Unbiased Coverage

AU0505202990 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 5 May 90

["TV With All Political Colors"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—"Bulgarian TV is neither 'blue' (the colour of the opposition) nor 'red' (the colour of the ruling Socialist Party) but 'colour' TV," said its chairman Pavel Pisarev this evening. In the Panorama political round-up he said that the recent flareup of passions in TV is due to the desire of individual political forces to capture it and use it to win the elections.

Mr. Pisarev backed President Mladenov's proposal on the signing of an agreement between the political forces on the non-admission of violence, noting that in the long run, the elections will be decided by the platforms of the political parties and the electorate.

Opposition Rejects BSP Charge of TV Bias

AU0505154990 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 5 May 90

["SDS (Union of Democratic Forces—UDF) Insists on Fair Play on the Eve of Elections"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] characterised the accusations directed at Bulgarian TV by the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) as a "natural continuation of the known way used by the party over the years to categorically rule and command."

Two days ago in a sharply worded declaration, the BSP (the former Bulgarian Communist Party) accused the TV of giving advantage in its programmes to the opposition and of manipulating TV viewers.

A senior TV official later refuted the accusations.

An SDS declaration read last evening in the main evening news says the demand of the ruling party is actually a demand for an information black-out on the most pressing and topical home political and economic problems exactly on the eve of the elections.

In connection with the BSP accusations that the opposition was deliberately bringing the past to the fore, the declaration reads, the SDS bows before the victims of the anti-fascist resistance but the victims can by no means justify the post-1944 communist violence.

The past few weeks saw several revelations of mass killings of people without trial or sentence perpetrated immediately after September 9, 1944, by the Communist Party's repressive organs.

"The name cannot change and thus delete the blame. The Communist Party should ask the nation for pardon. Let us close down the pages of the past but after we have read it," reads the SDS declaration.

The declaration also demands from the BSP to stop using the president, the home minister and the defence minister as its election struggle agitators.

Agrarians Hold Rallies in Stamboliyski, Vidin

AU0505160190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Today the local members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] in the town of Stamboliyski held an election rally and festive gathering. The participants included BZNS Permanent Board Secretary Kostadin Yanchev and Aleksandur Asenov-Stamboliyski, grandson of the great agrarian leader, as well as performers from the theaters of Sofia.

The speakers laid emphasis upon the realism and independence contained in the BZNS election platform. It was also stressed that unification with Nikola Petkov

BZNS members is naturally to be expected because there are no differences in the ideas and platforms of the two unions.

A rally and gathering dedicated to the 6 May St. George's Day, the festive day of the BZNS, and the forthcoming elections was also held in Vidin.

Citizens Abroad Protest Voting Rules

AU0505150090 Sofia BTA in English 1947 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—A protest was received today at the BTA by the Federation of the Bulgarians Living Abroad to the chairman of the Central Electorate Commission, against the adopted rule that only those Bulgarians that live abroad and possess Bulgarian passports can have the right to vote.

This principle is an expression of deep discrimination to the thousands of Bulgarians who live abroad who had been forced to leave Bulgaria, the declaration reads. It is stressed that the former government did not give Bulgarian passports to everybody and that the larger part of the Bulgarians living abroad could receive passports only after the approval of the Todor Zhivkov government. It is also stressed that the former regime had stripped of Bulgarian citizenship the people who had remained to live in foreign countries. An opinion is expressed that the Bulgarians living abroad cannot be differentiated into worthy and unworthy and it is insisted that all Bulgarians living abroad who have applied for Bulgarian passports should be granted the right to vote.

If we are rejected this demand, we will place the issue before the UN and before all governments in the countries where we live, the protest of the federation reads.

2d Part of Opposition Election Platform

AU0405130890 Sofia BTA in English 1142 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—Today's DEMOKRATSIYA runs the second part of the election platform of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] in which the opposition states its position on the character of the Constitution and the basic values of democracy with regard to which a national accord should be reached.

The major points in the platform are as follows:

The Constitution should really be a supreme law.

No constitutional definitions of the state should be made. There should be a strong parliament; the presidential power should not be an above-parliament institution.

The parliament should be a permanently operating body made up of professional parliamentarians.

The parliament should be the only legislator of the state. The Constitution should broaden the range of matters regulated solely by law. Laws should no longer be declarations of ideological character, but detailed normative acts. Only parliament can decide how and under what terms the state budget can be used.

A stable and strong government responsible before parliament should be established. The head of state should be authoritative. The president should not be an embodiment of the executive; he should be a president governing in the conditions of parliamentary regime.

A constitutional court should be set up.

The institution of "parliamentary defender of citizens' rights" should be introduced.

A supreme administrative court should be set up which will be the legal protector of citizens against the mistakes and the arbitrary acts of administrative bodies and officials.

Nationwide and local referendums should be made wide use of in constitutional practice.

A really independent court of law should be established along with the creation of a three-stage system of justice and a bar that should be new in principle.

The democratic traditions in local self-management should be revived—the freedom of choice of political figures of regional importance, the freedom of municipalities in solving all their local problems, independent budgets of districts and municipalities.

The SDS will seek to base social life and the relations among people on the sacred values of democracy. It considers that all political forces should reach a consensus with regard to these values.

Non-violence is declared to be the most highly valued by the Bulgarian society . The SDS is against any forms of violence, against any physical outrages, against the employment of any moral or political violence.

Freedom is declared to be sacred and inviolable as in any democratic society.

Only the free individual can be socially responsible.

Not equality at all costs; the SDS will strive for equality when "the start in life" is made and rejects egalitarianism in the distribution of wealth.

Competition is considered to be the principle of nonviolent coordination of human activity in the economy, politics and culture.

The SDS is for building a society in which competition is combined with solidarity.

Dignity, self-respect, tolerance and opposition are the other values the platform of the SDS declares. The

importance which the opposition attaches to all individual human values—family happiness, health, material well-being, the striving for success, love, charity, the faith in god, etc.—is also pointed out.

BSP 1 May Appeal to 'All Working People'

AU0405124190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 May 90 p 1

["Appeal" issued by the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council on 1 May; place not given : "To All Working People"]

[Text] Citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

Comrades,

Happy 1 May! Happy 1 May—liberated from the false elements of the totalitarian system and the glorification of the authoritarian regime, removed on 10 November 1989 by the honest forces in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Happy 1 May—a day we celebrate under new conditions of democracy and great political activity, pluralism, and emerging democratic socialism.

Some holidays belong to the families, and some to all people. However, there are holidays that belong to all people on earth. Such a holiday is 1 May—the day of international solidarity, the international day of labor. This is so because without labor there is no creativity, progress, and life.

On this day the BSP, the party of labor, greets the labor people in our country. It greets the workers, the workers class, the agrarians, private farmers, the intelligentsia, and employees, and all those people who labor, who number more than 4 million, and with whose brains and hands new Bulgaria was constructed.

We do not close our eyes to our mistakes. We do not evade our responsibility. However, we will never erase from our history or our daily life what has been constructed by you—the working people—during more than 40 years.

Throughout its 100-year history, the BSP has always struggled to liberate labor from the oppression of capital and exploitation. However, this proves to be a difficult goal of social development. Labor is still not free. However, it will not become more free if servants again reemerge in our life, if an owner who is free of controls dominates the hired worker, and if private property again engulfs our entire life. This could happen if capitalism returns—and this is what the opposition wants, albeit it still does not say so.

Now our country is in the midst of a crisis, which is the result of an erroneous economic system and policy, as well as the result of monopoly in the economy, policy, and ideology. The BSP anticrisis program can lead our people out of this crisis in the most painless way. The party has the necessary experience, professionalism, competence, specialists, and leaders. It also has the necessary determination and courage, and the faith and support of the working people.

It will not be easy. We do not promise an easy solution. However, the BSP offers the best solution for the crisis. The BSP is the party whose platform envisions an accelerated transition toward a market economy with prices, high incomes, inflation, and unemployment being regulated by the state. We propose an accelerated transition and not a single strike as the opposition proposes. We propose an accelerated transition and not a "shock therapy" that will lead to mass unemployment, sky-high prices, and dazzling inflation, as the opposition proposes.

The BSP is the party that can guarantee the working people social security, social protection, and social justice.

According to the election platform of the opposition, published on the eve of 1 May, only monetarism can provide the solution to the economic crisis. However, the whole world knows that monetarism means a sharp reduction of social programs, medical services that must be paid for almost completely by the patients, education that must be paid for by the students and their families, and finally, transferring the burden of the crisis to the socially weak, in other words, to the majority of the working people.

According to the opposition's election platform, "private capital is the real driving force of economic life." We think that, while it is impossible to function without capital, the creators of the assets are the real driving force of economic life.

Today the BSP again addresses you, greets you, and wishes you good health, vigor, and happiness on this May Day, for your own benefit and the benefit of our dear motherland—Bulgaria.

Long live 1 May—the holiday of labor!

BSP Supreme Council.

New-Style May Day Celebrations Viewed

AU0505175090 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 May 90 p 1

[Editorial by TRUD Editor in Chief Damyan Obreshkov: "The New Birth"]

[Text] The idea was somehow late in coming and left no time for the preparations. The organizers—the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the TRUD newspaper—were worried whether people would respond to the invitation to celebrate May Day in a new way—especially at the present time....

However, the skies were favorable on the morning of May Day. Only the appointed hour proved very early for the opening of the festivities. The most inquisitive

opened the pages of the OTDIKH newspaper [alternative daily of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation] and looked around to see where the interesting things described in the advertisements would pop up.

Then, all at once, the people poured out. The squares and walks of the park were filled with crowds, music throbbed from the stages, and the park exploded with gaiety. In a single moment, it became impossible to force one's way through the crowds. The tiny organizing body of the planned event melted away, and it became a real popular fair.

In the afternoon, I happened to pass by the Southern Park, where the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation had invited the citizens of Sofia to celebrate May Day. The picture there was not any different.

After what I saw and experienced, I wonder what prompted Sofia citizens to take part on such a mass scale in a festival at which they were not offered anything particularly wonderful. Why did tens of thousands of people show up with open hearts and a festive spirit? They brought their children, looked for music and songs, and were lavish with their smiles and laughter.

The answer seems more than clear: The people longed for such a festival; they hungered for it. They need peace and calm, openheartedness, and want to cast off the tension that has been weighing everyone down.

The atmosphere at the May Day festivities in the park was free of politicking, and for this very reason became a popular event for the ordinary man, a spontaneous response to furious passions and the feelings of insecurity toward which the senseless confrontation is leading us.

In this very sense, yesterday's May Day is a lesson for the political leaders and parties, because, apart from wanting real gaiety, it is evident that the people are also hungry for universal human security, for a reasonable solution to the serious crisis. The people do not want fireworks displays, intimidation, or battle drums, but good hope for something better.

Everything that took place yesterday is only a beginning, but a true beginning in a new field of trade union activity, which from now on will find its own masters and followers because, let us admit it openly, we did not manage to satisfy the immense interest with which the thousands of people came to the festival, to their very own true festival.

Long live the May Day festival, and may it be much better next year!

Interior Collects Weapons Until Elections

AU0405184790 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 4 May 90

["Ministry of the Interior Collects Arms Given as Presents"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—With an order of Minister of the Interior Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev it was said that in relation with the forthcoming elections the firearms given on different occasions to officers of the Armed Forces should be collected for the period May 10 till the end of the elections.

Attention is drawn in the order that the end of the term is approaching set by the Law for Amnesty and the address made by the National Assembly adopted at its 16th session, namely May 13, 1990, for voluntary giving up of weapons, munitions and materials possessed by the citizens. After this date the regulations of the Penal Code will be strictly applied in all cases of illegally possessed weapons.

Opposition's Spasov Attacks BSP Campaign

AU0505174890 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Union of Democratic Forces spokesman Georgi Spasov by unidentified DEMOKRATSIYA representative; place and place not given: "Peaceful Transition From a Totalitarian to a Democratic Organization of Society"]

[Excerpt] [DEMOKRATSIYA] What is the attitude of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] leadership to the proposal of the president of the republic on signing an agreement on nonviolence, legality, and law and order?

[Spasov] If you will allow me to speak figuratively, I would start by noting that the original call of the UDF was for a peaceful transition from a totalitarian to a democratic organization of society. At the time when the call was made (7 December 1989), not a single totalitarian structure had been dismantled, nor had a single law protecting the old system repealed.

In this sense, we regard the proposal made by President Petur Mladenov as a correct and positive political move.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] What has made such a step necessary?

[Spasov] Pluralism and the election situation have vastly increased the temperature of social life and citizens' political activity.

The disclosures about the people slaughtered without trial or sentence on the St. Bartholomew nights of September and October 1944 and about the mass terror have caused widespread shock and have aroused righteous indignation.

The Bulgarian Communist Party, a party that has historically failed, or more correctly the ruling nomenklatura class that gave birth to the party and ruled over it, bears the guilt for the brutalities and murders, for the economic crisis, and for the flagrant social injustices.

The renamed Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] dissociates itself from all this and refuses to accept the responsibility.

The main problem lies in the fact that the change of name does not mean a change of nature, but a mere change of clothes. This is why the former style and methods of government are also being applied in the election campaign, mainly in the form of violent and dishonest methods.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] What do you mean by these concepts? Could you be more specific?

[Spasov] The local authorities are not fulfilling the signed agreements; they are not providing premises for clubs or access to the mass media, or they are putting all possible obstructions in the way of the opposition's political activity. There have already been cases of brutal violence, such as knife stabbings and the beating of opposition activists. Some people have been dismissed from their jobs or threatened with dismissal, others have been threatened with weapons, and yet others have received threats that their property will be destroyed (cars have been set on fire or damaged, and so forth).

Many dishonorable methods of election agitation are also being used, for example, lies, slanders, gross misrepresentations, and so on.

The BSP agitators are insinuating to the electors that if the UDF wins the elections, then Communists, military officers, militia members, and others will be dismissed from their posts.

Other "agitators" are not ashamed to warn that marked ballot papers will be distributed, so that the names of those who vote for the BSP will be known, after which it will be decided how to deal with them.

A further, no less widespread topic about which they are arousing speculation is the idea that the UDF allegedly would like to bring capitalism back and that we are about to close factories and plants.

These are gross lies. However, a man who has orders handed out to him for more than 40 years concerning the locality and apartment in which he is to live, what job he is to do, how much he is to earn, what he is to say, what he is to believe or not, and so on, swallows the bait.

I think that those who use violence and act dishonorably in the elections are doing this because of feelings of impunity. This arises from the exercise of power over many years free of control by anyone or anything. [passage omitted]

New Social Democratic Party Opens Conference

AU0505155290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] The first national conference of the New Social Democratic Party, one of the six parties in the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], opened today [5 May] in Sofia. The delegates were greeted by UDF Coordinating Council Chairman Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and leaders of opposition parties and movements.

In his political report, Petur Markov,, New Social Democratic Party chairman, traced the party's difficult history from the forming of the initiative group for creating an independent social democratic club until today's conference. He outlined the activity of the party, described in its program declaration, which is aimed at building a stable democratic society in a free and independent state. The conference is continuing with debates on the party's draft election platform and statute.

Conference Concludes

AU0505204990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1552 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] The first national conference of the New Social Democratic Party was held in Sofia today [5 May]. It is one of the six parties included in the Union of Democratic Forces.

The delegates heard a political report on the party, then discussed and adopted the party's election platform and the statute. At the end of the conference, a new coordination council was elected.

Social Democratic Party's Economic Program

AU0605171590

[Editorial Report] Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian No. 12, on 25 April, on pages 1, 8, and 9, carries a 3,000-word unattributed article entitled "On the Economic Program of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP]."

In the preamble, it is pointed out that the Bulgarian people "undoubtedly desire" reform and that "implementing legal reform that is needed by the country" is one of the main tasks of the Grand National Assembly.

The first part of the BSDP economic program deals with the various forms of ownership. The BSDP supports "the development of all kinds of ownership: private, municipal, and state ownership." In this context, it is pointed out that "about 27 billion leva in Bulgaria are not covered by goods." The BSDP proposes to deal with this situation by "exchanging the Bulgarian currency," and "limiting the total amount of money that is in circulation."

Turning to the issue of privatization, the BSDP economic program points out that privatization means "releasing from the state inefficiently managed enterprises and reviving the spirit of enterprise in the people." The program denounces the "branch approach toward the economic structure," and stresses that if the existing economic potential is "released from its branch chains, society's efforts to overcome the crisis will meet with

success." However, the program emphasizes that privatization will be a "prolonged process," and in this context stresses that is in not the party's intention "to mislead the people by presenting harebrained and ad hoc solutions." It is pointed out later that "it is not the intention of the program to eliminate the state sector of the economy" because this sector "has an important role." In this sphere, the program aims at "releasing the state sector of the economy of ineffective investments and placing it under conditions of economic independence and competitiveness."

Turning to the importance of foreign investments, the program points out that "it does not call for incurring more foreign debts," but rather for "attracting foreign capital through investing in the existing enterprises and giving foreign companies concessions in the construction of new enterprises." In this context, the program calls for "absolute equality of Bulgarian and foreign investments."

The BSDP program rejects the opinion that "if the democratic forces win the elections, Bulgaria will face a total economic fiasco, poverty, and hunger." It is pointed out that under the new conditions "a part of the workers will have to change not only their place of work, but also their profession." However, "this would by no means produce unemployment." The program urges the state "to invest in requalifying the workers" and points out "the great benefit of such an investment." The BSDP economic program appeals to all Bulgarians "who have left the country for various reasons" to return and invest their talent in the economic revival of the country.

In dealing with agriculture, the BSDP economic program calls for "returning the land to its owners," and "releasing the self-initiative" of the agricultural workers. At the same time, the program calls for "announcing a temporary moratorium on deals concerning land" in order "to avoid speculation."

The program's last part deals with the tax system. In this context, the program calls for "introducing a progressive taxation of the net profit of the enterprises, as well as profit obtained by trade operations." It is pointed out that "such a taxation system will tame the appetite for speculation," and simultaneously, will "prompt the producers to produce more goods in order to eliminate the existing shortages."

In conclusion, the BSDP economic program calls for "comprehensively amending the wage system in Bulgaria," and at the same time "stimulating production by developing consumption." It is pointed out that the proposed measured must be implemented as soon as possible because "any unbalanced and gradual measures will only prolong the social agony of society, as well as the social price that must be paid" if a delay is allowed.

Radical Democratic Party Forms in Silistra

AU0405140690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] A Radical Democratic Party organization has been founded in Silistra Municipality. In renouncing all forms and methods of violence and rejecting war as a method for solving conflicts, the members of the new party declare it to be a party of peace. The main principles of the party's program are a free market, assistance for the socially weak, provision of all forms of ownership, multiparty pluralism, free self-determination for the individual, no privileges, and complete autonomy of higher education establishments.

Lukanov Talks With Muslims in Momchilgrad

AU0505202690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] The election meetings of Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov continued for a second day in the eastern Rhodopes region. He was accompanied by Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev.

In his speech to the inhabitants of Kirkovo and the thousands of people who had come from neighboring villages to this border municipality, Andrey Lukanov stated that the main goal of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is to turn Bulgaria into an economically strong and socially just state. After the rally, he met and held talks with local committee for social justice representatives.

Andrey Lukanov also had an impromptu meeting with the population of the village of Petkovo.

The factory in the center of Momchilgrad was the scene of the first election rally of the municipal BSP council, at which Andrey Lukanov made a speech.

At the same time, a parallel silent vigil of a large group of Bulgarian Turks took place about 100 meters away from the rally. Later they made their way along the central street of the town with a demand, printed on a placard, to talk with the prime minister.

Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev was the first to meet with them, and half an hour later the leader of the government joined in a frank dialogue with them on the nationality problems. A petition from the local leadership of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms was handed to him. Afterward, Andrey Lukanov answered many questions concerning the restoration of names changed by force and other unresolved problems. The Council of Ministers chairman made a commitment to send a commission in the very near future to investigate the real problems on the spot.

Lukanov on Freezing Debt Payments, Lovech Camp

AU0505170390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by DEMOKRATSIYA representative Plamen Georgiev-Krayski; place and date not given: "Restricted Possibilities"]

[Text] [Georgiev-Krayski] In a number of statements and commentaries by world famous financial experts, sharp criticisms have been directed against your government and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in connection with the manner in which our creditors were notified that we were freezing payment of the foreign debt.

[Lukanov] We have 150 creditors, and it was physically impossible to have preliminary talks with them. We did hold consultations, but these were of a different nature. We tried to obtain more substantial financial support, but this proved impossible, and we stopped the payments. This was no surprise to them after the telex that we sent. The manner in which the telex was drafted is another matter. It probably could have been done better.

[Georgiev-Krayski] It has become known that on 22 December of last year you received a file of documents concerning the crimes at the Lovech camp. Why did you remain silent?

[Lukanov] At the time, I was on a very busy visit to Lovech, and many files were handed over to me. I was physically unable to study all the documents, and I handed them over to the Commission on Investigating the Abuses, after which I left the membership of the commission.

[Georgiev-Krayski] If one were to look for a common element in these two replies to questions of public concern, it might be that Mr. Lukanov is under a greater pressure from work than anyone in the country. On this basis, we are inclined to accept that he was really unable to study the Lovech documents. However, the question arises of whether the apparatus of the National Assembly commission is doing its job properly. Does it always need to be forced by the press to take action?

Hero Lauded for Role in Freeing Macedonia

AU0405195490 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT 4 May 90

["Bulgaria Still Remembers National Hero Gotse Delchev"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—The 87th anniversary was marked today in Bulgaria of the tragic death of Gotse Delchev, one of the leaders of the national liberation movement of the Bulgarians of Macedonia, who died in the struggle against the Ottoman enslavers.

At a rally in front of Gotse Delchev's monument in this capital city, distinguished intellectuals and social officials spoke of the intransient significance of the hero's deed for the Bulgarian nation.

Prominent historians and social figures participated in the press conference held here today under the leadership of the All-Bulgarian Union "Macedonia" about Gotse Delchev's role in the struggle of the Bulgarians for freedom and independence.

The major aim of the union founded two months ago is "to stir the conscience of the world public and maintain the Bulgarian spirit in the Bulgarians wherever they live," as it was marked in the press conference.

Representatives of the union addressed criticism against the "passive opposition and the political forces in Bulgaria, which consider schematically the national issue in their election platforms and use it for mutual accusations."

The union leader Maya Vaptsarova protested against the continuing assimilation pressure to which Bulgarians in neighbouring countries are subjected.

The All-Bulgarian Union "Macedonia" condemns the activity of the anti-Bulgarian organization "Ilinden" and assesses it as an attempt for breaking the national unity of the Bulgarian people on the basis of gross distortion of history and modern realities.

The union protests against the pretences of certain forces in Yugoslavia regarding the non-existing "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria which represent an attempt for gross interference in this country's internal affairs.

Pharmaceuticals Director Explains Shortages

AU0505170990 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Apr 90 p 1

[Article by Senior Scientific Fellow Engineer Ivan Again, chairman of the Administrative Council of the "Sofarma" State Company: "Why Are the Pharmacy Shelves Empty?"]

[Text] Recently, frequent tipoffs from citizens and medical personnel have appeared in the mass media concerning the absence of medicines absolutely necessary for normal treatment in medical establishments. Drugstore shelves have also become alarmingly bare, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to buy not only specific drugs, which are almost always in short supply, but also common remedies that thousands of people have used daily for years.

How in fact has this come about?

The "Sofarma" State Company produces 398 types of medicines and drugs for the population, which make up over 18 percent of the total amount of medicines consumed during 1990. The company is the only Bulgarian producer of medicines in capsule form. However, in this

wide range of products there is hardly a single medical preparation that does not include in its composition raw and other materials imported from abroad for foreign currency. In order to meet the country's annual requirements for the drugs produced by us, we need $7 million for the purchase of raw and other materials.

According to the previous practice, the foreign currency needed for the manufacture of our products is provided from our exports. Despite the fact that this system has apparently not been changed, since 1 January 1990 the bank has not opened letters of credit, although our company exported goods valued at over $3 million during the first quarter of the year. For this reason, we cannot import the necessary raw and other materials, and within the next month or two we will be obliged to halt the production of almost all drugs. The country will be left without a substantial amount of medicines, which include about 100 life-saving and especially necessary drugs, including some for the treatment of children.

We are well aware of the exceptionally serious economic situation in the country, and recognize that as citizens and producers we must also make our contribution to solving the crisis. However, we consider that our established production capacities, our 50 years of experience and traditions in producing medical drugs, and, most of all, elementary business sense will prevail in resolving this problem. If a decision were made to import all the medicines produced by us, or analogous substitutes, more than $50 million would have to be found in foreign currency. Despite the complex situation in the international market, we believe that the "Sofarma" State Company will manage to provide the foreign exchange from its own resources.

Alternative Party Paper Stops Publication

AU0505165890 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Apr 90 p 1

[Aleksandur Kharalanov commentary: "Opposition Newspaper Stopped"]

[Text] The election campaign has begun, but the first opposition newspaper has already been stopped, namely NACHALO, the Alternative Socialist Party newspaper. The reason is a technical one, namely "lack" of newsprint. This reason is quite out of place, given that the "Bulgarian Book and Press" Trading-Economic Trust is already allocating the newsprint that has not yet been sent by Mr. Maxwell....

More likely the reason for NACHALO suspending publication should be sought in the proverbial enmity of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] toward those honorable people who have left its ranks forever. The ruling party is evidently upset that, in its five issues that have appeared so far, NACHALO has skillfully and wittily discredited it. However, DEN, the newspaper of the Alternative Socialist Association in the BCP, continues to come out and to regularly cause tempests in a teacup. Thus, 44 days before the elections, NACHALO is stopped. Who will be next? Perhaps Mr. Andrey Lukanov knows this better than anyone?

Lukanov Assesses Prague Visit as 'Successful'

AU0405192990 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers returned today from Prague where he was on a two-day business meeting at the invitation of the Czechoslovakian Government chairman Marian Calfa.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government assessed his visit before journalists as successful. "During the talks we specified the major moments in a new system for regulation and encouragement of bilateral relations," he said. "It is based on the two countries' orientation towards market economy and complies with the major imperative of our day: integration with the world economy. The first step is a transition towards a convertible currency in our payments on the basis of international prices. But this will not happen at once: The enterprises and the companies will have about three years to adapt themselves. Until that time a significant part of the economic exchange between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia will be realized in the framework of a currency clearing," Lukanov said.

The two countries have decided to give up the outdated forms of cooperation, built on an administrative basis. Preserving everything positive in the experience amassed till now they will switch to new, modern methods of common work, corresponding to the political and economic realities in Europe and in the world. It has been agreed to create a group of experts, which should prepare trade and economic agreements for cooperation after 1990.

Some issues of the current goods exchange were considered and special attention was paid to the development of specialization and cooperation in production. The condition of the common production of load trucks Lias Madara [Czechoslovak and Bulgarian truck manufacturer; spelling of lias as received] was discussed and of the possibilities for specialization in the production of cars, burning apparatus for diesel engines, etc. The sides stressed their mutual interest in the development of contacts in mutual investments in the sphere of tourism.

The leaders of the two countries' governments have exchanged information about the political situation in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia on the eve of the parliamentary elections.

It was said that we are traditional partners on which it can and should be relied, in future, too, the Bulgarian prime minister said. In spite of the certain specific peculiarities, the common thing which characterizes the situation in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia today is an orientation towards democratization and civic society,

towards guaranteeing of the basic human rights and freedoms, towards the creation of vital market economy and the building of such international structures which should guarantee the security and stable economic development of all people. The difficulties of the evolutionary period which we are undertaking should not be a burden to the normal course of our relations, not only in the economy but also in policy, culture, communications between people, Mr. Lukanov said.

The leader of the Bulgarian Government was received by Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's president, to whom he handed an address by President Mladenov with an invitation to visit Bulgaria. It was received with thankfulness. Andrey Lukanov talked with the president of the Federative Assembly Alexander Dubcek.

Convertible Currency Agreement

AU0405184690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov has completed his working visit to Czechoslovakia.

During his visit, he met and held talks with President Vaclav Havel and with Marian Calfa, Federal Assembly chairman and the chairman of the Federal Government of Czechoslovakia.

An agreement was reached that as of 1 January 1991, the two countries should switch to making payments and settlements at world prices in convertible currency, over a transitional period of approximately three years.

According to Andrey Lukanov's statement, his visit will also have a favorable effect upon our domestic market.

In answer to a question from our reporter at the Sofia airport, after his return, on his international engagements before the elections, Andrey Lukanov announced that he would visit Greece in mid-May at the invitation of his Greek colleague, and that on 8 May, he would visit Brussels to sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation with the EC.

Mladenov, Gorbachev Hold Telephone Conversation

AU0405175290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] The presidents of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, Petur Mladenov and Mikhail Gorbachev, held a discussion today by telephone. They exchanged opinions on topical problems in the social life of the two countries and on matters connected with Bulgarian-Soviet relations. The two presidents stressed the great importance of stable mutual relations and emphasized the common interest in further developing and strengthening these relations.

Paper's Defense of Macedonian Rights Denounced

AU0705150390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 May 90 p 3

[Nikolay Koev report: "'Dear Guest' in NOVA MAKEDONIJA"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 May—NOVA MAKEDONIJA's journalists had lots of reasons to be satisfied with the wonderful opportunity they got to use authentic "material" for groundless accusations against Bulgaria, based on the well-known script of defending some Macedonian national minority. A "dear guest" on the Editorial Board of the Skopje newspaper, Nikola Georgiev, presented by TANJUG as leader of the "Ilinden" Macedonian organization of Pirin Macedonia, which struggles for the "human and national rights of the Macedonians in Bulgaria," provided a unique opportunity for new variations on the old theme.

According to the quickly disseminated report from Skopje on the visit, Georgiev had stated in NOVA MAKEDONIJA that after establishing his organization in Bulgaria, its members had been called chauvinists and separatists, while the Bulgarian press, radio, and television have utilized every opportunity to present the activity of "Ilinden" in dark colors. "The rights of the Macedonians in Bulgaria must be recognized like the rights of the Gypsies and the Turks. We are saddened by the fact that in Bulgaria we are called Bulgarians, and in Greece—Greeks, while we are in fact a separate nation," the representative of the "Macedonians" from the other side of the border expressed his pain to the "well-wishers" from the Skopje newspaper. Nevertheless, it is interesting, who "authorized" Mr. Georgiev to serve the interests of Skopje's propaganda?

EC To Sign Economic Agreement With Country

AU0405191290 Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—The agreement for trade and economic cooperation between the European Community and Bulgaria will be signed in Brussels on May 8, said today a spokesman of the commission before journalists.

After Bulgaria such a type of document will be signed by the GDR, while on the day before, by Czechoslovakia. On behalf of the European Community this is expected to be done by the council's present chairman, Ireland's Foreign Affairs Minister Gerald Collins and the commission's deputy chairman Frans Andriessen.

The agreements which are to be signed on Monday and Tuesday as well as other similar agreements signed before with other Eastern European countries we already consider as "agreements of first generation." Perhaps in the second half of this year the European Community could begin negotiations with the Eastern European countries on a new type of agreements of "second

generation," which plan the association of these countries to the community, the spokesman said.

Official on EC Relations

AU0705142290 Sofia BTA in English
1348 GMT 7 May 90

[Text] Brussels, May 7 (BTA correspondent)—In a statement made today for the Bulgarian news agency Mr. Martin Bangemann, vice president of the EC Commission, outlined his vision of the relations between Bulgaria and the Common Market.

The agreement will be of the classical type. The opportunities it will open are to be sought rather in the field of trade and economic cooperation, but nevertheless this is an important stage in the promotion of our relations, Mr. Bangemann said.

Now we should take advantage of all opportunities to develop these relations. It means extending trade and economic cooperation in particular, because it is the cooperation in this field that will help prepare the next stages in the promotion of our relations, he added.

What are the next stages going to be?

Different forms of cooperation should be sought for and made use of in preparation for associating Bulgaria to the European Community and, possibly, for her joining the EC, Mr. Martin Bangemann pointed out.

Being the person in charge of the internal market at the European Community, Mr. Bangemann outlined several directions in which the opportunities that will be opened in the field which is within his competence can be taken advantage of: Making Bulgaria's standards and technical norms equal to those adopted by the European Community, placing the Bulgarian industry on a common basis with what is done in the community.

The question of the relations in the field of transport also arises. It is clear that including a country in the European community would be much more easier if the country has good transport communications with the EC, he stated.

Meeting Discusses Joining European Movement

AU0405195290 Sofia BTA in English
1802 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—On the eve of May 5, the Day of Europe, which is to be celebrated here for the first time, a meeting was held between journalists and experts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economics and Planning, members of the Initiative Committee for founding of a Bulgarian national council for the European Movement.

As it is known the European Movement is a social organization founded in 1948 which sets as its objective to acquaint society with the problems of Europe and disseminate the ideas of Europeanism and contribute to the building of an European Union. It unites today 17 national councils with the participation of prominent politicians, businessmen, journalists, men of culture and is a social moving force in the all-European process. During the last months besides Bulgaria, in some of the other European countries, too, there were initiative committees for founding of national councils of the European Movement.

Our wish, Krasimir Kostov of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said, is to help with our professionalism Bulgaria's joining Europe and to cooperate to the increase of our country's contribution in the building of the Common European Home.

A major task of the initiators is now to attract prominent social figures, economists and politicians and to establish broad international activity. Contact has been established with Mr. Mulenar, secretary general of the European Movement, and invitations have been made for a visit here to representatives of a number of national councils. In a few months the Bulgarian national council will be officially founded and registered.

The day on which the Council of Europe was founded 25 years ago will be solemnly celebrated with a concert of the Sofia Philharmonic in the Bulgaria Hall.

Joint Trade Company Set Up With Israel

AU0405195390 Sofia BTA in English
1759 GMT 4 May 90

["Bulgaria-Israel: Business Reacts Promptly"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—The first Bulgaro-Israeli trade company was founded the day after diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored.

The agreement for founding the company, which will export production from the Bulgarian rubber industry, was signed today by the international company Rubber Products in the town of Vidin and the Israeli group "Eisenberg". The currency receipts of its activity will be used for import of the raw materials and materials necessary for production.

Relations between the two countries do not date from today. They have signed an agreement for building of capacities for an annual production of some 750,000 radial car tyres with metal-based breakers. It is planned that half of this production will be sold in Bulgaria which will meet significantly the needs of the home market for tyres which are now in great demand. The Bulgarian rubber industry products will be included in the trade network of the Israeli partner and will thus reach the international markets.

Soviet Soldiers, Tanks Withdraw 4 May

LD0405174190 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—A total of 17,287 Soviet soldiers and 8,660 family members left Czechoslovak territory by four GMT today [4 May].

Also withdrawn were 403 tanks, 649 armoured vehicles, 236 guns and mortars, 18 launching pads, 92 helicopters and 4,111 lorries.

Leaders Address Liberation Day Celebration 6 May

Havel Speech

LD0605144690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1314 GMT 6 May 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at 1945 liberation anniversary rally in Plzen, Western Bohemia—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens: For long decades the communist regime pretended that Czechoslovakia had been liberated only by the Red Army. Yes, [people whistling] yes, the Red Army actually liberated the major part of our territory, and many thousands of young members of various nations of the Soviet Union fell during the liberation of our country, and therefore they deserve our lasting respect. [applause]

Nevertheless, it is not true that Czechoslovakia was liberated only by the Red Army; a significant part of Bohemia was liberated by the Americans, and in fact all the 45 national armies of army troops which formed the antifascist coalition took part in our liberation, though perhaps indirectly. [applause]

In order to recall this fact with emphasis, after years of concealment, we decided to organize this year's celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the end of World War II here in Plzen.

Yesterday morning at 0800, it was exactly 45 years since the troops of the 16th Armored Division of the U.S. Army entered this town's territory and liberated it the same day. [applause] Perhaps the 3d Army of General Patton was capable of liberating Plzen a few days earlier, and most certainly it was capable of reaching more distant towns than just Rokycany by 8 May.

This did not happen, for well-known reasons: Stalin exercised great pressure on the U.S. side, aimed at having our entire capital liberated only by the Red Army. [people whistling] There were not many people at that time who suspected what aim Stalin was pursuing. Nowadays his aim is clear to everybody: Stalin knew well that the conquest of the capital of the republic would create one of a number of favorable conditions for later making the whole of Czechoslovakia a satellite of the Stalinist Soviet Union. [people whistling] This now all belongs to history.

What does not belong to history and never can belong to history, however, is the memory of all those who fell for our liberty, and of course our respect to all those who did not fall, fought with courage, and still live these days. [applause] I am thinking about both the members of all the victorious armies and the members of the Red and U.S. Armies who were directly involved in liberating our territory. I am also, of course, thinking about all the heroes of our home and foreign resistance. [applause]

Many of them, above all those who served in Western armies, did not receive after the war their deserved recognition from our country; on the contrary, for saving its honor they were imprisoned and persecuted for many years. [people whistling]

This bitter fare was experienced even by many fighters of the Czechoslovak Army unit in the Soviet Union, many heroes of the Slovak national uprising, as well as many heroes of home resistance in the Czech lands.

The day finally came when we were able to publicly show our respect to all those people who were persecuted, forgotten, or erased from the history of the World War II, and to thank them. [applause]

This belongs equally to all, regardless of the battlefields where they fought and regardless of their political conviction and postwar fate. The fighters who are still alive and who were until recently forgotten will be promoted and decorated, and homage to the memory of those dead will be paid. [applause] The recently born democratic power in Czechoslovakia will justly assess everyone.

On behalf of this democratic power, I would like to say on this occasion that, inspired by the memory of our heroes, we want to protect our present liberty well. [applause] Everything indicates that we are entering an era of real peace and radical disarmament. Nevertheless, if someone despite this threatens our country with military power, we will defend ourselves [applause]—this time, however, not only as individuals or in one or the other way as organized military, guerilla, or civic groups, but simply as a state. [applause]

I would like to conclude by again thanking, and this time totally sincerely, all the foreign soldiers—Soviet as well as U.S. or others—who liberated our country 45 years ago. [applause] Again, and this time totally sincerely, I would like to express our respect to those who fell for us. [applause]

Those who deliberately forget that for their lives some others gave their own lives, do not live fully, that is, freely and proudly. [applause] Long live the memory of all the heroes and victims of the World War II; long live proud and free Czechoslovakia! [applause; people shout "Long live Havel"]

Czech Premier Pithart Speech

LD0605164390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1339 GMT 6 May 90

[Speech by Czech Premier Petr Pithart at 1945 liberation anniversary rally in Plzen, Western Bohemia—live]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens of Plzen, 45 years ago the U.S. troops liberating Czechoslovakia stopped on the Budejovice-Plzen- Cheb line. They relieved us of one totalitarian regime without attempting to use their tanks to impose another totalitarian regime. After a few months, these troops, according to an agreement, withdrew from our territory. The Soviet troops also withdrew—for 23 years.

In the middle of next year, these troops will withdraw again after another 23 years. As it is being revealed, however, they will leave our territory—about 150 small as well as large areas—in a state which from an ecological point of view we have to describe as catastrophic. Many places leave one with the impression that these troops were involved in chemical warfare with our environment.

We would be glad if the troops in the future would leave their former bases in better shape than the state in which we found the first of them. In this context, we are well aware of the fact that even if the Soviet Army shows its goodwill, it lacks the material basis and money—and, above all, the technological skills—to return our country to its natural state.

We ourselves are not capable with our own resources to put right the ecological damage done. We do not have monitoring equipment capable of registering all the substances spilled on our soil or stored in storage tanks and barrels forgotten here by the Soviet troops.

That was why we turned to the United States to ask them to help. There is no longer any area in our country where we could not allow U.S. experts and their equipment to go. We appealed to them to help us again, after 45 years, to liberate ourselves from the poisons left behind here by their former war allies.

During the past few days I held talks in Washington at the U.S. State Department, Senate, and Congress. We did not ask for any exorbitant sums of money; what we need above all is technological equipment, which we lack, to clean the already so much ecologically devastated environment in the Czech and Slovak Republics. We envisage that, first of all, we will clarify for ourselves in two areas what is the probable damage in those areas still closed to us. Later we will also have to acquire expensive furnaces so that we can not only identify the poisons and store them somewhere for the time being, but also destroy them in a totally harmless way. The Americans will help us acquire these furnaces; we will produce them with their help. [applause]

I am not happy telling you these gloomy news about yet another—this time totally unexpected—wretched ecological burden. On the other hand, I am pleased to announce on this spot to the citizens of Plzen that it will again be their acquaintances of long-standing, the Americans, who are going to help us. [applause]

Troops will no longer meet on our territory. It will now be our friends dressed not in green uniforms but bringing good green intentions who will come to the vacated tank exercise grounds in our forests. By coincidence the first among them will be our friends from the most distant part of the United States, from Alaska. A great deal of oil flows in pipelines through their territory. They therefore know how to deal with the problem. Allow me to welcome them among us. [applause]

It is right that we should reestablish the broken links of friendship precisely here in Plzen, the city that at one time found itself for awhile on the very border of that crack which threatened to split our globe. Plzen suffered during the past 45 years because of it. The city described itself as early as 1953 as an unreliable element in the totalitarian structure. It was the first city in the entire East bloc to defy the rule of lies. [applause] It has always preserved for itself the memory of the spring of 1945, although the flowers people placed at the monument dedicated to U.S. soldiers were immediately taken away by the henchmen of the old regime. [shouts of derision and booing]

Plzen deserves to be the very city from which it should be announced to the whole our republic: Americans are coming back again. [sentence repeated in English] [shouts of approval and prolonged applause] They are coming without weapons, equipped with only brooms to help us to clear our beautiful country from the last vestiges of the cold war. [applause]

That war also began here in this city on the border, on the line of contact between the armies of two world powers. Today, when U.S., Soviet, and Czechoslovak flags can fly here, we are able to welcome U.S. war veterans and all other dear guests from the United States with the words that war is coming to an end here today. No strategic line still goes through Plzen. Today Plzen is a city of meetings. This is why I have announced precisely here the outline of the new agreement with the United States; this time we will wage together a new campaign against poisons as the remnants of the war that was the last one. [applause]

Ahead of us is a fight against pollution of all kinds, a fight inside our polluted, historical memory, in our defiled morality, in our devastated nature. When Soviet troops leave next year, the second 23-year period of our post-war existence will come to an end. We are again opening a new page in our history. I thank Americans for extending to us their helping hand at this difficult time. In this they pay homage to their fellow countrymen who laid down their lives here and whom we will never forget. [applause]

May Plzen be the city from where the news will ring out that we are beginning to eliminate energetically with the help of our U.S. friends the last consequences of the last

war. We are beginning our spring cleaning a bit late, but because of this are doing it with a greater drive.

Vacek Speech

LD0605173990 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Prague May 6 (CTK)—Celebrations of the liberation of West Bohemia by the U.S. Army 45 years ago were held in Plzen, the region's capital, today.

Within the celebrations, Czechoslovak Army recruits swore a new oath. Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel present at the ceremony told them that they are the first after many years "to swear allegiance to this country and its people, and not to the working people led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

The definitive end of the Cold War was marked in Plzen not only by the fact that for the first time since 1948 the share of the U.S. Army in Czechoslovakia's liberation, silence on which was kept or which was denigrated throughout the years, was pointed out publicly once again. The celebrations were held in the sign of appreciation of the merit of all the four victorious powers of the antifascist coalition in World War II whose national anthems, including the Czechoslovak one, were played.

Czechoslovak Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek in a well-balanced speech denounced the falsification of Czechoslovak history in the past and appraised the role of the six U.S. Divisions, but also recalled that a majority of Czechoslovakia's territory was liberated by the Soviet Red Army fighting with which were also Polish, Romanian and Czechoslovak units.

The U.S. Army lost several hundreds of men in Czechoslovak territory where a total of 144,000 Soviet soldiers fell, the minister said.

He denounced the fact that many Czechoslovak soldiers who fought especially in the British Army were persecuted and jailed, and even executed after the communist coup in 1948.

Two military units were renamed as the "Tobruk" and "Dunkerque" ones in honour of the Czechoslovak volunteers who fought in Africa and France.

President Vaclav Havel joined the celebrations with a short delay since he made a stop-over in the Plzen prison where he was held as a political prisoner until the year 1982. It was evident from his conduct that he knows well the jail.

Bush Arms Initiative 'New and Positive Step'

LD0405170990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The new initiative of U.S. President George Bush, announced at a news conference in Washington yesterday, on halting the modernization of U.S. short-range missiles and short-range artillery in Europe aroused great interest all round the world. Editor Peter Susko comments: [passage omitted]

[Susko] In our country we cannot remain indifferent to the George Bush initiative. First, NATO's original plans were to replace 88 Lance missiles with a range of 112 km with 389 surface-to-air missiles with a range of over 400 km.

Second, the new U.S. proposals are a new and positive step toward the swift convening of an all-European conference on security and cooperation and its successful completion.

In this regard we cannot remain indifferent to the Germany issue because, according to FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, disarmament in Europe is the primary prerequisite of German unification.

It is true that for some NATO states such optimism is unacceptable. Here is a quote from the British DAILY EXPRESS: Caution is necessary. The West is giving up the shield that has protected peace for so long.

It would be more fitting to call the new initiative a crack in the shield, because Lance missiles will still remain in Europe, and their fate will be decided at the next NATO summit at the end of June or at the beginning of July.

Let us believe that this truly important U.S. step will be followed by further steps that will allow Europe to breathe freely without the phantoms of nuclear mushrooms.

Foreign Ministry Statement on 'Two Plus Four'

LD0405140490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement before the forthcoming talks between the foreign ministers of the two German states and the foreign ministers of the United States, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

It welcomes the start of the first round of the two-plus-four talks on solving external aspects of German unification and regards this as an important step on the path leading toward overcoming the division of Germany and thus of all of Europe.

The statement goes on to say that the results of the two-plus-four talks should stimulate the further development and deepening of the Helsinki process, promote a gradual overcoming of the present bloc model of security on the continent, and promote the forming of a new all-European security system.

With regard to the fact that at issue are questions affecting the fate of all Europeans, the Foreign Ministry proceeds from the premise that the conclusions of the two-plus-four talks will be discussed and affirmed at a pan-European summit, which should take place even before the end of this year.

The statement emphasizes once again support for Poland's request to participate in the two-plus-four talks

in the section related to Poland's interests; specifically, the inviolability of Polish territory and the confirmation of Poland's western borders on the Oder and Neisse.

The Foreign Ministry also emphasizes its stance of not striving for participation in these talks if, however, a question directly affecting Czechoslovak interests does not arise there. Within this framework, the Czechoslovak side considers that the future constitution of a united Germany cannot contain a provision which would be either the same or analogical to Article 23 of the current basic law of the FRG.

Dienstbier on German Reunification

LD0505050190 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 4 May 90

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified reporter in the Prague television studio; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] The two-plus-four conference in Bonn, which will open tomorrow, will be held at the foreign ministerial level, and this is why we have asked Jiri Dienstbier, the chief of Czechoslovak diplomacy, to come to our studio. Good evening.

Mr. Minister, one of the main issues to be discussed at the conference will be the presence of foreign military units on the territory of a united Germany. What attitude has Czechoslovak foreign policy taken to this problem, above all from the standpoint of our national security, for the country is, in effect, a neighbor of the future united Germany.

[Dienstbier] I believe that to talk about what troops are to remain in Germany and for how long would serve no purpose now because at this stage there is no threat to our country. The situation will remain as it is for some time until something else is agreed upon. We do not want to take part in those talks at present, as opposed to Poland—but this is understandable because, in the case of Poland, her western borders are at stake. They are questioned, while no one questions Czechoslovakia's borders. We also believe that those two-plus-four talks can only be preliminary and that the final word must emerge from a conference which would be held within the framework of the Helsinki process, be it a Helsinki II conference, which is to be held in 1992 or earlier if possible, or a summit of the heads of the states involved in the Helsinki process, which could be held this year provided progress is made, especially at the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament.

[Reporter] United Germany will undoubtedly create in Europe an economically very strong new factor. This will be reflected in the economic balance as well as, of course, in the military balance, in military strength. To talk about historical parallels concerning a strong Germany would surely be groundless. Poland nevertheless demands guarantees in this connection, as you yourself have mentioned. What guarantees does Czechoslovakia demand?

[Dienstbier] I believe that it would make no sense to demand some kind of specific guarantees because we need overall guarantees. We believe, and this is of course natural, that each nation has the right to self-determination, and whether Germans or Lithuanians are involved does not matter. To talk today about whether or not Germany is to be united, and under what circumstances Germany should be united, under what circumstances Germany could pose a threat to Europe, makes no sense for it could lead merely to the resuscitation of the Versaille complex, as happened in World War I.

I therefore believe that there is a need to make use of the unification of Germany to speed up the Helsinki process and to build up European-wide structures. This, after all, is nothing new to us. For instance, Charter 77 was demanding this five years ago when it demanded that the taboo surrounding Germany be lifted. This is because Europe was and indeed still is divided in Germany—even symbolically by the Berlin Wall—and the elimination of this division goes hand in hand with the overcoming of the confrontation between the two blocs and the creation of new structures. This is why we have proposed the establishment of a European security commission about which we are holding discussions with all participants in the Helsinki process and which should embrace the existing security institutions such as the Atlantic Alliance, the Warsaw Pact organization, and the like in creating a common security area within the framework of which none of the 35 states would be sufficiently strong to be able to threaten the other 34.

[Reporter] My next question is directed away from the military aspect to something that is more pleasant. We already have visa- free contacts with Austria and Italy. When will it be the turn of the FRG or a united Germany?

[Dienstbier] We now have visa-free relations with the GDR, and we are having talks with the Federal Republic. It now looks as if this would happen in the autumn or at the end of this year, but it would appear that the development in Germany is accelerating, and it is possible that this will happen even earlier. We believe that visas are a police matter, the matter of the 20th century—it has been developing as such since the end of the second half of the 19th century. There were no visa requirements during the preceding one thousand years, and people moved freely throughout Europe; this is why we want to abolish visas gradually.

There are, of course, countries where this will be more difficult achieve; for instance, the United States and Canada are having great problems with emigrations to their respective countries. We can, however, tackle this problem in a different way. For instance, the Federal Government decided today to abolish visa requirements for U.S. and Canadian citizens, probably with effect from 1 June.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, voices are raised not infrequently criticizing your ministry for opening up the

Czechoslovak borders, or, to be more precise, they describe this step as precipitous. What do you think of it?

[Dienstbier] We have not opened the borders that much. The only thing we have done was to abolish visas with Austria. It does not make any difference whether Austrians come here after they have queued for visas or whether they come visa-free because this contact has been in existence for some time. In border areas in particular it used to be a normal thing for people to visit each other, going to pubs over the fence so to speak, and that practice was not possible for long decades, and therefore this new relaxation has placed a certain pressure on our home market. That pressure has been, however, very minimal. A certain panic ensued from it, however; perhaps that was manifested more in some villages but now the situation has stabilized.

Last Sunday I was on a kind of preelection tour in Western Bohemia. I visited ten places, beginning with large towns such as Cheb and Sokolov and ending with small villages; and in every conversation I was asked when at last Czechoslovakia would have visa-free contacts with West Germany. Therefore, it is not that the public is concerned about us opening up to the world. I would, however, like to say one more fundamental thing: Unless we accept this kind of pressure and if we want to reenter Europe, where we have always belonged, we must enter Europe on the basis of the conditions that operate in Europe, and we must not be afraid of exposing ourselves to the pressure of that environment to which we want to approach as quickly as possible. It is clear that the quicker we expose ourselves to this kind of pressure the quicker we will come closer to Europe.

[Reporter] Thank for you answers and for your visit to our studio.

Bulgarian Premier Continues Visit, Departs

LD0405201790 Prague CTK in English 1254 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—Interest in cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, including the parliamentary sphere, was expressed by visiting Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov at his today's meeting with chairman of the Czehcoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek.

Alexander Dubcek informed the Bulgarian guest about the present political development in Czechoslovakia. He underlined the significance of parliamentary discussions of a number of bills for guaranteeing the irreversibility of the democratic development and creating conditions for the transition of the centrally managed econmy to the market mechanism.

The Bulgarian premier left for home today.

PAV Nominates Havel President in Jun Elections

LD0605174790 Prague CTK in English 1512 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Bratislava May 6 (CTK)—The "Public Against Violence" Slovak civic movement today nominated Vaclav Havel a presidential candidate for the June elections.

It thus joined the Czech movement "Civic Forum" which put forward Vaclav Havel as a presidential candidate on May 4.

In its statement, the Public Against Violence stressed Vaclav Havel's important contribution to the formation of civic opposition to the totalitarian power over the past decades. He stood at the head of the forces which broke the power monopoly of one party and which opened up the road towards an effective, just and good civic society, it said.

"We gave him confidence and support in the previous presidential elections (December 29, 1989) because we believed he will be a reliable guarantee of our road towards freedom and democracy. Now we express our confidence and support because we are convinced that he will be our guarantee also on our road towards prosperity," the statement said.

CPSL Program Conference Viewed

AU0405124390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Lubo Rabay and Martin Krno article: "A Movement and an Ideology Are Not an Aim, But a Process"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our editors)—"Who Are We and Where Are We Heading?" asked the banner hanging above the tribune of the conference hall in the new Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee headquarters on Mierova Street in Bratislava. More than 200 delegates and guests, in particular, specialists in the socioeconomic sphere, gathered together at the CPSL's program conference on Saturday [28 April]. The conference had been awaited in anticipation not only by the party but also by the general public. At the end of the conference, Peter Weiss, CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee chairman, evaluated its course and results as being both successful and optimistic because they confirmed how the Communist Party in Slovakia has changed during the past four months. The participants approved without reservations an election program and a platform for a modern left-wing party which removed it from the Action Program adopted at December's extraordinary congress. It is possible to regard this as a victory for the reform stream within the CPSL. It was apparent that the endeavor to seek an ideological identity with the present and not the struggle to regain the lost positions of those who had been "wronged" has had a galvanizing effect within party ranks.

Party members in Slovakia and outside observers had, in essence, expected this outcome. This was despite the fact

that prior to the conference, relentless doubters prone to suspicion could be encountered who were not afraid to label the conference as a mere premeditated maneuver by the current leadership. There were also those who consider current events within the party to be a power struggle or the result of opportunist tendencies.

No, it is impossible to talk about a total agreement of views even after the conference. After all, this would be absurd. The conference delegates were not selected in accordance with the "requisite" point of view but—in accordance with the principle of one delegate per 1,500 party members—they had been sent by individual party organizations, clubs, or platforms. Many of them could not even have hypothetically influenced the new CPSL leadership in the short period since December. Yes, some of them—and there were only a few—could have justifiably complained that prior to the conference itself, the fundamental issues were not discussed as widely as they should have been. If, however, we take as a starting point the fact that, after a dynamic discussion, the delegates agreed on the draft program platform—and, from a fleeting study of it, it seems that this is not a program for a traditional party of the old "Leninist" type—the conclusion can be reached that the endeavor to modernize the party is, to say the least, serious. It is possible to assume that this fundamental turnabout is not only a consequence of the resounding historical defeat suffered by the Communist Party and its official ideology, and that its membership did not come to this conclusion merely under severe pressure resulting from current events. It is obvious that the former official ideology and its practical political implementation had not for a long time conveyed the opinions and feelings of the majority of communists. It is fortunate that these very critics have remained in the party and comprise its healthy core today.

The conference has indicated that three more clear-cut tendencies are operating within the CPSL. Apart from the reformist tendency, represented by the current leadership, representatives of the Democratic Forum of Communists have made themselves known; however, they do not appear in the role of opponents but almost as activists in the reform process. Supporters of the "crystal-clear purity" of ideology from the platform of the CPSL communist renewal did not seem to be very numerous. However, this platform did not find a sufficient response even among those people present, who have nostalgically parted ways with the old slogans. If some people spoke about Marx and Lenin as "inexhaustible founts of knowledge," they, at the same time, rejected sectarian isolation in the face of reality. In comparison with the past, it is undoubtedly a step forward that representatives of all intellectual tendencies could speak out completely freely and critically against the current leadership.

The fundamental defense of working people in harmony with their needs, interests, and desires and not a declaration of fossilized principles and ideas about what would be good for people must become the motivating source for the renewed party's activity. The conference participants also understood this. The party will support socialist tendencies in society's development; however, it does not only understand socialism as an aim, but as a system and a constitutional process. It does not place the proletariat against the whole of society. On the contrary, it considers the defense of humane values to be the best expression of the working people's interests. When one of the speakers suggested giving up the slogan "Proletariat of the World, Unite!" no one objected. Similarly, as RUDE PRAVO has already done, PRAVDA will also as of today eliminate this slogan from its masthead.

We will gradually publish some of the speeches and interesting ideas from this event in our daily. Vasil Mohorita, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee first secretary, participated in the CPSL program conference along with Josef Kasuba, Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Central Committee secretary, who, among other things, told us that they had come to the conference aware that the CPSL is a step ahead and that they will take away many interesting ideas from it.

It states in the resolution that the CPSL program conference has made note of the speech delivered by Peter Weiss, CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee chairman, about the platform for a modern left-wing party and the speech delivered by Pavol Kanis, CPSL Central Committee secretary, on the elections. At the same time, it approved the draft platform for a modern left-wing party in Slovakia—"Who Are We and Where Are We Heading?"—and the CPSL's draft election program with the proviso that the editorial commission submits amendments to both documents with regard to the discussion for approval by the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee. The conference also adopted a standpoint on the election campaign.

Havel Eulogizes State Founder Stefanik

LD0505142490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1200 GMT 5 May 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at rally to commemorate Milan Rastislav Stefanik, a founder of the Czechoslovak state, in Bradlo—live]

[Text] Esteemed and dear friends: The love, respect, and profound gratitude of his people lifted up to the hights of Bradlo the cofounder of our state, Milan Rastislav Stefanik. I am standing here for the first time in my life, and a very strange feeling overwhelms me. This feeling includes an element of emotion, as well as of hope. The grave, which has been built here by architect Dusan Jurkovic to honor the memory of the world-famous astronomer, philosopher, and politician, has been implanted in this country and has become a natural component of the country from which this great man originated and for which he worked for his entire life. He worked for it despite the fact that the greater part of his short but intensive life was spent abroad. He studied in

neighboring Bohemia, he lived and worked in France, Polynesia, South America, he was a soldier in Russia, Italy, and in Siberia, he founded and led our Army abroad. He traveled all over the world. He was a cosmopolitan who was firmly linked with his country and who has always been a proud Slovak. Interest in Slovakia and his people [applause] constituted the basic hallmark of his behavior, above all political. At a time when our new statehood was being formed and when the respectable struggle for it started, he stood by the side of his university professor, Tomas Garrique Masaryk, as his chief collaborator and partner. It is justified when we say that he is a co-founder of the joint state of the Czechs and the Slovaks. [applause]

He understood immediately how important it is to defend Slovakia from the danger of political pan-Slavism on the Russian side, and, at the same time, to free it from the yoke of Hungary, connected with the threat of forceful assimilation. [applause] Like a clairvoyant, he understood the threat emanating from the Bolshevik revolution. [applause] He also understood that the fate of the Slovak peoples must be linked with the fate of the fraternal Czech people, just like Masaryk did. He, too, saw that that was the only way to establish and recognize on our territory a strong state, which could never be done by the Czech lands only, without Slovakia. [applause] Stefanik, at the same time, always advocated, as the basis of our state, the idea of mutual equality and respect. Let this be for us the most important and particularly topical message from this man. [applause]

This heritage is topical for us inasmuch as, building a free and democratic society, we want to find a truly equal relation of our two peoples and its expression in a new and truly democratic understanding of our federation. [applause]

The era of Czechoslovakism, pseudo-independence, as well as federal totality is over. This is the era of fraternal cooperation of two capable peoples. [applause] Thank God, the times are gone when Stefanik's name was forcefully erased from the encyclopedias and textbooks of history, just as Masaryk's name, and maybe even more so, because of his patriotism and negative relation toward communism. [applause] Let us repay to our children, students, as well as ourselves, the great debt which was created by the regime blindly hating everything and everybody who, by their attitudes and views, stood against its lies. [applause]

Let us recall the heritage of the ideas and aims of Milan Rastislav Stefanik, not only in the days of famous anniversaries, but all the time. It is our duty to ourselves, as well as to future generations. [applause]

I said I had a very strange feeling today. Perhaps it is obvious why this feeling contains an element of hope. It is hope in our good future—a future which is our joint task, a future which respects the truth and tradition, a future which will never be muted by the dark forces of history. [applause] I think that this hope should be implanted in our hearts and minds just as the grave on Bradlo was implanted in this beautiful country, so that it may become inseparable from it. [applause]

Milan Rastislav Stefanik, we thank you for your work.

Dubcek at Bradlo Celebrations

LD0505165490 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1210 GMT 5 May 90

[Speech by National Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek at rally to commemorate Milan Rastislav Stefanik, a founder of the Czechoslovak state, in Bradlo—live]

[Text] Mr. President, representatives of the federal and national governments and of the Czech and Slovak national councils, fellow citizens!

For the second time in the last 22 years we are returning to Milan Rastislav Stefanik the place he deserves in our contemporary history. This year is the 110th anniversary of the birth of that outstanding scientist, soldier, and diplomat. Millions of brave Slovaks and Czechs are recalling today more than ever Stefanik's achievements in the field of science, the liberation struggle, and diplomacy. Milan Rastislav Stefanik devoted all his efforts to uniting the Czechs and Slovaks in an effort to build a common state, which subsequently came into being through his outstanding contribution, among others. A tragedy led to Stefanik's death on 4 May 1919 at Ivanka. He departed at a time when, through his knowledge, contacts, and organizational abilities, he could have made a great contribution to the newly founded free republic, and the common state of the Czech and Slovaks.

Stefanik was a great man of our nation. Eduard Benes wrote these important words about him from Prague: An enormous service is being done for us by Lieutenant Stefanik, a Slovak, who has a strong position here. Stefanik carried out outstanding and difficult political, diplomatic, military, and organizational work. In the interests of creating an independent state he held talks in Italy, France, Russia, and the United States. Stefanik, however, was not only a politician and diplomat; he also saw active service as a pilot on the front in Serbia, Albania, and France. Stefanik was of great importance in organizing our Army, which fought on the side of the allies, and thus also created the conditions for our free state to come into being after the victorious war. In Italy, when volunteer units were set up, Stefanik expressed his political creed when he said, and I quote: Inspired by unshakable faith, and trusting in the triumph of justice, the triumph of rights over violence, freedom over subjugation, democracy over privilege, and truth over deceit, in the mass union of our souls, we reaffirm that we will fight until the day when we will be able to hail an independent state.

For more than 70 years now, the memory of the hero of the struggle for the creation of our common state has lived in the consciousness and traditions of our peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks. The living relevance of Stefanik's tradition is

also shown by the period of the struggle to rebuild the common republic during the Slovak national uprising and the foreign resistance in World War II. In World War II, too, Stefanik was a real force helping in the struggle to renew the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, and combat units adopted his name.

In 1968, during the revival process, the national consciousness of the Slovaks also rose to a higher level. It is clear that our nation recalled its hero, and documented this by a national pilgrimage to this site, Bradlo. More then 100,000 participants paid homage to Stefanik at that time; the nation thus rose up and elevated itself in unprecedented unity and activity. At that time I was a deputy for this region, which I had grown to love also because it was Stefanik who gave it to us Slovaks and Czechs, and because it is really a beautiful area. [applause] This area is also important for our history because famous figures—Stur, Hurban, and other revolutionary leaders—were active here. I was sad when, after 1968, the work and memory of Stefanik was again disparaged for 20 years. The totalitarian power did not want to hear the real truth about Stefanik. To its shame, it violently suppressed recollections of his merit.

Our November revolution overcame the totalitarian regime and lifted the curse from many things that had been cursed [applause], among them the memory of Stefanik. It allowed us to breathe, think, and speak freely. Now we have the possibility of implementing the ideals of the Czech-Slovak solidarity which Stefanik strove for. We are strengthening the statehood of both our equal nations in a common Federative Republic. All our efforts are aimed at creating a free, democratic, politically consolidated, economically properous, and social just Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. [applause]

We have enacted a series of important legislation, which will form the basis for our new further development and for our state based on the rule of law. Shortly we will be holding the first free elections since 1946. Instead of a totalitarian regime, we are building a parliamentary democracy built on a federative economy and corresponding social certainties. It is also part of our efforts to establish the truth about the life and work of Stefanik and to return him to our life. In the Federal Assembly yesterday we unveiled a memorial tablet bearing the inscription enshrined in law, and I quote: In recognition of M. R. Stefanik's work for the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. [applause] We are returning Stefanik to our national consciousness, and therefore I think we must return Stefanik to the history of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks, return him to the consciousness of our nations as the uniting figure of Czech-Slovak solidarity [applause], return Stefanik as the common founder of the Czechoslovak state, return Stefanik to the names of our streets, return the monuments and memorial tablets to their places. [applause]

I am glad—and it is directly symbolic—that together with President Havel here, at this memorial site today, we are renewing and raising and elevating Czech-Slovak solidarity to a higher level. [applause] I am convinvced that by strengthening Czech-Slovak solidarity and the ideals of freedom, democracy, and justice, we are carrying out the bequest left to us by Stefanik in his fruitful work.

Let me end my speech at this festive rally with the words of our first President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk—I quote: Milan Rastislav Stefanik deserves the gratitude of us all. [applause] Let us elevate Bradlo as a national pilgrimage site, a site of Slovak national pride, Czechoslovak statehood, and the common destiny of our mutually so close nations, the Czechs and Slovaks! Thank you.

Pithart Speech

LD0505170890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1200 GMT 5 May 90

[Speech by Czech Premier Petr Pithart at rally to commemorate Milan Rastislav Stefanik, a founder of the Czechoslovak state, in Bradlo—live]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: Let me thank you on behalf of the Czech side for the invitation to this ceremony, in which we take part with feelings of sincere respect. We are convening here to pay our tribute to the memory of a man who is for us the personfication of everything that links our two nations to each other, a symbol of the link of two national cultures which create a new quality by their mutually complementing and deliberate union. I am recalling here the cooperation of Milan Rastislav Stefanik, this inheritor of the Stur tradition of Romantic personal sacrifice with realist Masaryk in Paris during World War II. These men of so very different capabilities and virtues copperated here together on one aim, the result of which was the organization of a small piece of Europe into a highly meaningful formation. Masaryk said about Stefanik that he was more of an apostle than a diplomat and soldier. The name Apostolo—which means a messager in Greek—is characteristic of Stefanik's personality and fate. He was moving all around the whole of Europe, and was received just as much in scientific circles as in the tents of generals and in drawing rooms. He was a fascinating personality, a knight of spirituality. He was bringing a message, and made others ardent about it, too. Yes, in this sense he belongs more to air and fire than to earth. He is flying and burning. This image is rather special today, on the anniversary of the day when this man was looked for in the sky, in vain, from the fields of May. It seems that something of the unearthiness of Stefanik's personality was due also to his original profession—astronomy. This science observes the universe in its entirety, in its universality and in its depth. In the all-embracing big-hearted view of astronomy, small differences disappear with the benefit of seeing the whole. In the same way, Stefanik unifies the differentiated foreign resistance in the interests of the common cause. He, a Protestant priest, is establishing the first contacts with the Vatican. The same, for us obliging, overview is hidden in the smilingly conciliatory bon mot uttered by Stefanik: The Czechs are Slovaks speaking Czech, and

the Slovaks are Czechs speaking Slovak. [applause] These words were given a specific content when, also due to him, they were implemented in the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks, Slovaks and Czechs. [applause; chanting of "long live Pithart"]

Petition Circulated in Support of Sacher

AU0405200390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 3 May 90 p 1

["(STR)"-signed report: "In Support of Richard Sacher"]

[Text] A meeting organized by Christian Youth began under the Saint Wenceslas statue in Prague at 1230 yesterday. A petition supporting Interior Minister R. Sacher was signed on the spot by the participants and was designed for the parliamentary meeting, which had been called for 1400. At the beginning of the event, the spokeswoman for Christian Youth mentioned the November slogan: "People, let us love one another!" and challenged all people of goodwill, believers, and nonbelievers alike, to put this slogan into practice. The organizers distanced themselves from the attempts at provocation and, quoting T. G. Masaryk: "Democracy can be found only where people trust each other and search together for the truth." The assembly was also greeted by brother J. Macek, Federal Assembly deputy, and by other speakers, among them the representatives of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, who warned against petty wars and shattering forces in the period prior to elections. The singers Dana Sklenarova and Pepa Nos brought smiles to faces.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

Polling Stations Open for Local Elections

LD0605071890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0509 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 28,247 polling stations in the GDR have been open since 0700. The good 12 million people entitled to vote have the opportunity to cast their vote in the first democratic GDR local elections up until 1800. In individual cases, for example in Eisenach and other towns and localities in the Erfurt Bezirk, the wish to be able to vote earlier—whether for professional or private reasons—has been granted.

Countrywide 258,501 candidates, 81 of them foreigners, are standing for the 119,652 mandates for kreis assemblies, town assemblies, and municipal assemblies, as well as the local representations. The right-wing Republicans and the National Alternative are excluded from submitting candidates. [passage omitted]

Preliminary Results Indicate CDU Ahead

LD0605165190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1613 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Preliminary results of the first free local elections show the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] ahead with 38 percent. According to the prognosis, the Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] has 14 percent, the Liberals five, the German Socialist Union [DSU] four, and Democratic Awakening one percent. Four percent voted for Alliance 90/New Forum, three percent for the Greens, three percent for the Democratic Farmers Party [DBD], and six percent of the voters for all the other parties.

According to this prognosis, compared to the People's Chamber elections on 18 March, the CDU has lost three percent, the PDS two, the DSU two—meaning a third of its votes on that occasion. The SPD gained one percent.

The CDU scored particularly well in the future laender of Thuringia (46 percent), Saxony (44), and Saxony Anhalt (40). The SPD achieved 34 percent in Berlin, 32 percent in Brandenburg and 26 percent in Mecklenburg. The PDS gained its best results in Berlin with 29 percent and in Mecklenburg with 22 percent.

DSU Leader Diestel on Elections

LD0605201290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1903 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel has called the election results a recognition of the government's policy so far. This evening at the Palace of the Republic, the vice premier told ADN that the turnout, which has been considerably lower than for the people's elections, indicates "how people judge the elections." The results guarantee, however, that cities and communities "with audible personalities were reacting again" and are "ending the legal uncertainty, which had spread to almost all areas." "From our point of view, the election result is realistic" the DSU [German Social Union] politician said in answer to a question about the results of his party. "With our situation as a new party, more was simply not possible." For his young party a result of around four percent is very pleasing, especially considering that the personalities standing for election were unknown.

De Maziere 'Satisfied' With Election Results

LD0605214590 Hamburg DPA in German 1925 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—This evening Lothar de Maiziere, premier and CDU [Christian Democratic Union] chief, said that all in all he was satisfied with the results of the GDR local elections. The CDU was confirmed as the strongest force, De Maiziere said on NDR TV. The head of government justified the vote losses in terms of the smaller election turnout, high-profile local candidates of other parties. The fact that the CDU had only been able to field candidates in only about 70 percent of the constituencies also had an impact.

PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi said his party had expected small losses. The PDS also confronted the problem of being unable to field candidates everywhere.

PDS' Gysi on Living With Election Results

LD0605214990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1930 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] has confirmed its position as the third strongest party, and if the losses remain at two percent one can live with this result, PDS chairman Gregor Gysi said in an interview. He is not disappointed, but also not ecstatic. The party had expected certain losses in the number of votes. First, because of the absence of the votes of GDR citizens working abroad, a PDS strength in the People's Chamber elections, and second because the PDS has not been able to put candidates in all communities. In addition, a considerably higher number of asssociations and organizations had taken part in the elections with individual candidates, who were known in the communities. Thus, the distribution of votes was obviously different.

Party Leaders Discuss Election Results

LD0605223590

[Editorial Report] East Berlin DFF Television Network in German at 1935 GMT on 6 May, within its local election coverage, carries a 30-minute feature with leading politicians live from the studio. After recapping a few voting figures, the host introduces the leading politicians present, who include Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere of the Christian Democratic Union, CDU; Hans-Peter Diestel of the German Social Union, DSU; Gregor Gysi of the Party for Democratic Socialism, PDS; Jens Reich of New Forum; and Markus Meckel of the Social Democratic Party, SPD.

De Maiziere, who is almost inaudible (attributed to a microphone problem), says his party will have to consider the reasons for the difference in the results of these elections and those for the People's Chamber. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the elections are a huge step forward by comparison with the electoral falsification of a year ago.

Meckel says the SPD has stabilized its position, and has suffered only marginal losses. He calls the election result "an important success. We have suffered only small losses, and should remember that we are a completely new party. Our structure is not yet such that we are able to put up candidates everywhere. There are a whole series of electoral districts where the SPD had no candidates." He is especially pleased with the result for Berlin, where the SPD should be able to provide the mayor. This is of particular importance considering that Berlin is likely to be the capital of a united Germany.

Gysi says that the PDS has been confirmed as the third strongest party. The election results are encouraging, especially in view of the fact that the majority of parties have waged an election campaign against the PDS. "So, we have no grounds for excessive joy, but also not for resignation. I feel that it is a stabilization of the March result." He says that many problems remain within the party, and the search for new answers must continue. "And I also feel that there may well be areas where we can propose mayors or at least share control with other movements." Asked whether his party would be prepared to join a coalition in Berlin also, Gysi says, "we are willing to work together in Berlin also, but I think the other parties have made it clear that we need not have any thoughts of coalition."

Rainer Ortleb of the Liberal Democratic Party, LDP, says that his party sought to emerge from anonymity, to show its face to the people, and to make contact with the citizens.

Interior Minister Hans-Peter Diestel (DSU) says that his party is a new party which is very sensitive to the political winds. Work must continue in the party to improve its structure and program.

Democratic Farmer's party first deputy chairman says his party had clear roots as a party which would represent the interests of the farmers, and he attributes the electoral success of the party to this.

Professor Jens Reich of New Forum says the group should not be talking only about parties—crosses were placed against names, not party acronyms. The results so far are something of a mish-mash, he says, and require closer examination of individuals who received votes and how they gained those votes. De Maiziere announces that there will probably be a first reading of a local constitution in the People's Chamber this week. The government's goal is now to ensure the autonomy of the communes. For example, penalties for environmental damage should be paid directly to the communes rather than into the state budget. Also, there should be a law establishing the laender in the People's Chamber, so that the laender can be set up by Autumn to further this process of local autonomy.

Questioned on possible coalitions, Gysi says "we must start from the point of view that all parties must respect the results of the election. In each district assembly and community assembly, we must learn that those who have been elected must work together." There must be cooperation in the interests of the local populations. "If the deputies can respect this among themselves, then I think that diverse cooperation is possible. Of course there will be arguments, it would be inconceivable for everyone to be of the same opinion—if that was so then the elections would have been for nothing—but I think one of the deputies' duties is to achieve some kind of constructive cooperation in the differences of opinion." He says that the "desperate situation" in the communes has ended with the democratic result of the elections. The PDS deputies are open to cooperation, he says.

The host points out that many parties have refused to form a coalition with the PDS. Gysi replies that this may change: "It depends, of course, to some extent upon our own development, and how credible the process of renewal is." It depends also upon the particular individuals concerned in the various areas, Gysi thinks.

Questioned on the issue of privatization, Meckel replies: "I think that the process of reprivatization has definitely been furthered by the local elections." With the election of the new community assemblies, this process will excelerate.

The host says that local politics requires competence in the administration of finances. He asks for the New Forum's view on how resources are to be acquired. Jens Reich replies that money can only be attained if the economy is functioning properly, which it will do only if the framework conditions for this are in place, particularly the social framework conditions.

De Maiziere is asked to give a brief overview of the government's timetable. He says they intend to press ahead with the law on the introduction of laender, but

does not expect laender elections to the assemblies before Autumn, perhaps at the end of September or October.

The host thanks all present for participating and the program ends.

Interim Results Show CDU, SPD Leading

LD0605214690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Interim results of the local elections nationwide, following the count in over half of all constituencies:

	Absolute	Percent
Entitled to vote	4,432,532	
Ballots cast	3,431,686	77.42
Valid votes [total votes cast, but not total ballots]	9,171,033	
	Of the valid votes, the lists received:	
Christian Democratic Union	3,275,314	34.71
Social Democratic Party [SPD]	1,777,992	19.39
Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS]	1,115,784	12.17
Liberals [B.F.D.]	667,479	7.28
Farmers' Party [DBD]	564,186	6.15
Others	1,770,278	19.30

SPD 'Strongest Group' in Leipzig Parliament

LD0605222290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2044 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—The SPD [Social Democratic Party] will enter the new Leipzig city parliament as the strongest group. This sensational result, running counter to the overall trend in the GDR, unleashed massive cheers at SPD headquarters in the city tonight. [passage omitted]

According to an Infas [opinion research institute] projection, the SPD polled 34.8 percent in Leipzig, the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] 28.1 percent, and the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]—the third largest force—12.6 percent.

DSU Leader Says Coalition Position Unweakened

LD0605221490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2110 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Werner Ebeling, German Social Union [DSU] chairman and economic cooperation minister, says he is not surprised by the outcome of the local elections. As what was involved was not a party election but an election of individuals, the results cannot be analyzed from a purely party point of view, he told ADN in the Palace of the Republic this evening. "I hope the best people have been elected," he added. His party can live with losing a couple of percentage points compared to the People's Chamber elections. His personal view is that the election outcome will not weaken the DSU's position in the government coalition.

Interim Constituency Election Results

LD0605235190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2211 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Interim result of local elections nationwide, after counting in 90 percent of all constituencies:

	Absolute	Percent
Entitled to vote	10,483,770	
Total of voters	7,887,976	[figure indistinct]
Valid votes [total votes cast, but not total ballots]	21,438,490	
	Of the valid votes the lists received:	
Christian Democratic Union [CDU]	7,432,227	34.67
Social Democratic Party [SPD]	4,490,718	20.95
Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS]	3,052,665	14.24
Liberals [B.F.D]	1,452,609	6.78
Farmers' Party [DBD]	867,753	4.05
German Social Union [DSU]	711,871	3.32
New Forum Alliance [NFA]	521,006	2.43
Farmers' Association	471,982	2.20
Democratic Women's League [DFD]	270,857	1.26
Others	2,166,802	10.00

Hamburg DPA on Election Results, Impact

LD0605230590 Hamburg DPA in German 2239 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpts] Hamburg (DPA)—The local elections today generally confirmed the political balance of power in the GDR. The big parties had to take losses in their strongholds. The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] suffered by far the heaviest losses across the GDR, although it remained the strongest force.

In addition to above average losses in its strongholds in the southern GDR, the CDU losses were increased by the fact that some 800,000 CDU voters did not cast their votes this time. [passage omitted]

The CDU also got a reminder from the farmers, who feel their existence is threatened by food imports from the West. In the rural areas of the GDR, the CDU lost some 14 percent and received 23.4 percent.

In the rural region of Mecklenburg, the CDU polled 23 percent, a 13 percent loss. The big winners here are the two farmers' parties. The DBD [Democratic Peasant Party], with over ten percent, doubled its share. The Farmers' Association, standing for the first time, reached 7.3 percent. The SPD [Social Democratic Party], strongly represented in the north, gained two percent and reached 25.4 percent. The future neighboring Brandenburg Land, around Berlin, is the only future GDR land where the SPD became strongest political force, with 27.8 percent (minus three percent). The CDU, with losses of 8.8 percent, reached some 24.5 percent.

In Thuringia the CDU lost 16 percent, almost a third of its share in the People's Chamber elections. However, with 36.5 percent here in the southern GDR it is still far ahead of the Social Democrats with 16.6 percent (minus one percent). In the other future "Southern land" of Saxony, the CDU with 42.5 percent (minus 1.3) was largely able to hold its strong position. However, the sister party DSU [Democratic Social Union] with 7.4 percent suffered losses of 5.8 percent. The SPD lost only slightly and arrived at around 14 percent in Saxony. In Saxony Anhalt, too, the CDU's losses—at nine percent—were above the GDR average. Here in the center and in the West the Liberals—with nine percent (plus 1.5)—did better than average.

The SPD was able to consolidate its position in the cities. It achieved an average of 29.3 percent (up 1.4 percent). The CDU loss here was 1.3 percent lower than the national average, placing it at 22.7 percent. Alliance '90, which comprises citizens movements, can consider itself to be the victor in the major cities. The alliance increased its share of the vote from around 3 percent to 8.4 percent.

In Berlin, the SPD became the strongest force with a share of around 33 percent of the vote, down 1.8 percent, followed closely by the PDS with an almost unchanged 30 percent. The CDU was able to increase its share slightly to 18.8 percent. Alliance '90 showed a strong increase of 4.1 percent to 10.4 percent.

Vote Total With 14 Constituencies Uncounted

LD0705082690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0355 GMT 7 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The grand total of votes in nationwide local elections, after counting in 20,106 of the 20,120 constituencies, is as follows:

	Absolute	Percent
Entitled to vote	12,319,787	
Total voters	9,240,302	75.00
Valid votes	25,231,924	
	Of the valid votes the lists received:	
Christian Democratic Union	8,672,016	34.37
Socialist Democratic Party	5,366,141	21.27
Party for Democratic Socialism	3,680,107	14.59
Liberals	1,677,636	6.65
Democratic Peasant Party	924,905	3.67
German Social Union	861,250	3.41
New Forum	607,622	2.41
Farmers	500,371	1.98
Democratic Women's League	310,050	1.23
Others	2,631,822	10.43

SPD To Begin Coalition Talks Without PDS

LD0705121590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 7 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin Social Democratic Party [SPD] has invited all parties to join in coalition talks, with the exception of the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], which emerged as the second strongest party in the GDR capital after the local elections yesterday [6 May]. "The SPD sees the election result as a mandate to form a municipal authority which can build on the full support of all democratic parties. The SPD therefore invites the Christian Democratic Union, the Alliance '90, the Green List, the Liberals, the Free Democratic Party, and the Democratic Awakening to talks on the start of formal coalition negotiations," Tino Schwierzina, the SPD's top candidate for the post of mayor of Berlin, told the press today in the Red Town Hall.

If possible, the talks should begin tomorrow, starting with the Christian Democratic Union and Alliance '90. The discussion would focus, among other questions, on the SPD's objective of removing all border controls between the eastern and western parts of the city beginning 2 July, as well as a fixing of rent prices in Berlin which would link rent increases to city assembly decisions.

First Joint East-West CDU Congress Opens

LD0405212190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Under the slogan "Capital Berlin—Our task in a united Germany" the first joint Christian Democratic Union [CDU] party congress of East and West Berlin began this evening [4 May]. Meeting in the congress center of the Weissensee Sporthotel on Ho Chi Minh Street, the delegates will also discuss the future of their regional associations and the possible setting up of an all-Berlin CDU.

In addition to East and West Berlin CDU Chairmen Eberhard Engler and Eberhard Diepgen, the event is also attended by this party's candidate for the office of chief mayor, Dr. Roland Jacob. Other guests are Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere and People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl.

De Maiziere on Setting Up All-German Elections

LD0605213890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2048 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—So far the FRG Government has not consulted the GDR Government on possible all-German elections on 2 December 1990. This was stressed by GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere in an FRG television interview this evening. As important as German unification, if not more important, were the two-plus-four talks, said De Maiziere. The results of these talks could possibly lead to a date for all-German elections. GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel added, the unification of Germany must further the unification of Europe. He did not expect this this year. The laender elections in the GDR would also have to take place first. [passage omitted]

Meckel Views SPD Leadership Question

LD0705100790 Hamburg DPA in German 0927 GMT 7 May 90

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, acting Social Democratic Party [SPD] chairman, will not run for the office of chairman at the special party congress in June. He considered an application from former party leader Ibrahim Boehme to be problematic at present "for practical reasons," Meckel told DPA in an interview in East Berlin today. In April, Boehme "resigned" as party leader "with the stipulation: Until everything is cleared up. This is not yet the case." [passage omitted recapping Boehme resignation]

Meckel said he would be pleased if more than one candidate ran at the party congress. He said: "I am not assuming that I will run; I do not wish to." He would only run "if I think that the candidates proposed cannot fulfill the duties in a way that I consider to be right." Meckel justified his personal reserve until now on the grounds that important posts should be kept separate.

De Maiziere Stresses New Meaning of May Day

AU0405111090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 May 90 p 1

[ADN report: "A Festive Day Marking a New Democratic Beginning"]

[Text] East Berlin—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere spoke in favor of making 1 May 1990 a festive day, marking a new and real democratic beginning for society. In a May Day statement aired by GDR television on Monday evening [30 April], he described the German-German events planned in many places as being in line with this spirit.

GDR citizens will contribute to the future united fatherland with their diligence, their education, their experiences and the values created through their experiences, as well as their sensitivity on social issues, and their solidarity and tolerance. These yardsticks will also be applied to the form of market economy that is to be established in the GDR, De Maiziere pointed out. A Market economy is not an end in itself, but an economic system that has proven efficient internationally, and an instrument to ensure the vital needs of the people, to make possible their development, and to promote the realization of human values. It offers opportunities for everyone to participate in a committed and creative manner to increasing the wealth of society. In this connection, it has to be ensured that the fruit of joint work is justly distributed, and that the weak are protected by society. For this reason, the promotion of employment and the creation of jobs are of great significance, De Maiziere stressed.

The prime minister emphasized that economic, monetary, and social union must form a unity. Apart from the conversion of the wages and salaries on a 1:1 rate, this must include protection against dismissal, a works constitution act [Betriebsverfassungsgesetz], and a law on collective agreement that ensures autonomy in bargaining. It must also include retraining and further training of employees, as well as the establishment of efficient labor offices and financial support in case of unemployment. Really independent trade unions should safeguard the interests of the working people, Lothar de Maiziere stated.

De Maiziere Meets With Jewish Leader

LD0405210690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today [4 May], Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere and the chairman of the Directorate of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Dr. Heinz Galinski, discussed property and reparations issues affecting the Jewish community in Berlin-East [as received].

The GDR Government spokesman said that the political situation after the 18 March elections, the joint statement by the People's Chamber on 12 April, and education issues were discussed.

TU Demands Wage Increase After Currency Union

LD0405205990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The industrial and other trades unions organized within the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] are calling, with the introduction of the currency union, for an increase of 50 percent in the average net wage. This would launch the gradual adjustment of wages and salaries to the level of the FRG workforce, an open letter to Prime Minister de Maiziere published on Friday emphasizes.

The trade unions were unable to accept the wage freeze, which comes into force on 1 May. Thus, stipulations for wages and salaries already legally agreed upon could no longer become effective. The open letter therefore demands from the government a cost-of-living supplement, as of 1 May 1990, of 30 percent of the average net wage level.

The letter emphatically points out that the financial situation of enterprises, establishments, and organizations must be safeguarded, "so wages and salaries can actually still be paid after 1 July 1990." To preserve jobs, the immediate introduction of the 38 hour working week with full compensatory wage adjustment is urgently needed. [passage omitted]

Government Rejects FDGB Demand

LD0405210790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The office of the GDR premier today [4 May] emphatically rejected demands by the industrial trade unions and other trade unions organized under the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] umbrella association. In an open letter to the prime minister they had called, among other things, for average net wages to be increased by 50 percent upon introduction of the monetary union. In addition, the trade unions spoke emphatically of the immediate introduction of the 38-hour working week with full compensatory wage adjustment.

Talks with the FDGB had been agreed upon for Monday [7 May] to discuss these problems, the prime minister's office announced.

The statement says further that the preceding public discussion showed "that the FDGB, which for 40 years was silent on any form of disadvantage to its members, is not interested in clearing up essential questions, but in destabilizing the situation." The demand for wage increases of virtually 100 percent, with the simultaneous introduction of the 38-hour work week bore witness to the fact "that the 'representatives' of the FDGB are not concerned with securing their members' jobs, but with jeopardizing the path toward monetary, economic, and social union, started by the convincing desire of the electorates, and with this the growing together of the two German states."

"Decreasing work productivity and lower enterprise results caused by this," the prime minister's office says further, "should stop everyone, even those who are only beginning to think economically, from intensifying the situation through forms of industrial action. The government will do everything to find socially tolerable solutions for the people. It also will not allow itself to be impeded in this by unreasonable trade union leaders."

Labor Minister Concerned About Pensioners

LD0405144890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Nearly one million of the total 2.9 million GDR pensioners will be in receipt of social security under the regulations which have now been proposed and announced in the draft of the GDR-FRG State Treaty. This poses the danger that incomes will be reduced with one stroke for 700,000 GDR pensioners, and that 300,000 will only receive one or two DM [Deutsche marks] a month more. These fears were expressed in Berlin today by GDR Labor and Social Affairs Minister Dr. Regine Hildebrandt in an ADN interview. The slide into old age poverty and to a level below the subsistence rate can only be averted if the switch from performance or product-linked subsidies to people is made fully effective for the socially weak.

This requires, as stipulated in the coalition paper, a state subsidy of 120 to 200 DM per capita. However the present financial situation of the GDR, which is supposed to provide all the resources for this under existing plans, precludes this. This has now been noted in Bonn. However the FRG is unwilling to give any further financial aid. In the minister's view the argument of the price stability of the DM is being given too much importance. In this sense the formula announced by Premier de Maiziere of "overcoming the division by sharing" is ineffective.

The minister also said she is dissatisfied with the exchange structures agreed upon so far. The socially weak, including pensioners, are clearly disadvantaged and will be dispossessed on a long-term basis. She urged a 1:1 exchange for pensioners above the M [GDR Mark] 6,000 limit with relevant time-scale rulings which would stipulate the date of the earliest possible disposability of savings accounts. Such a solution would be met with agreement by pensioners if these time limits are not postponed too much due to the advanced years of pensioners. [passage omitted]

Regine Hildebrandt interrupted a consultation of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] ministers represented in the government and leveled criticism at the negotiating

strategy used. She is not happy about the statements made on Wednesday [2 May]. She regards what has meanwhile been laid down as a subject for negotiation. The present negotiations between the two German states, in which only three ministries are involved, sometimes have an aura of secret diplomacy. No secret document can be passed by the Council of Ministers if there has been no opportunity for discussion. This is not a mark of fairness. One cannot say there is trouble in the GDR cabinet, but the SPD does not approve of the State Treaty being passed off in this form. After all, her party sees itself as the social conscience and has for that reason joined the government. It is now fulfilling that function.

SPD 'Dissatisfaction' Over State Treaty Talks

LD0405190290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD parliamentary group could not agree with the present draft of the State Treaty with the FRG, stated the deputy chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] parliamentary group, Wolfgang Thierse, at a news conference in Berlin today [4 May]. What has been achieved to date is for them only an interim result. There have to be more negotiations.

There was also dissatisfaction in the parliamentary group about the poor information on the negotiation process. If one viewed the results of negotiations up to this point, one gained the impression that "currency stability is the most important thing for the FRG, and German unification must not cost anything," Thierse said. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Moscow Visit, NATO Viewed

AU0405103790 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 May 90 p 2

[Monika Graessler editorial: "Prelude to Two Plus Four"]

[Text] Let me start with the less important aspects: The era that was characterized by the exchange of German-Soviet kisses belongs to the past once and for all. De Maiziere and his Soviet interlocutors merely exchanged friendly handshakes.

The early visit by the GDR premier to the Kremlin was more than a gesture. It was important for both sides to familiarize themselves with the standpoints of the other side prior to the two-plus-four talks. It became clear very quickly that the two sides are still divided over essential issues, despite those things they have in common. The future alliance membership of a united Germany is apparently giving the Soviet leadership a considerable headache.

Moscow has so far rejected proposals suggesting a united Germany's membership in NATO—an idea which is advocated both by the GDR premier and Chancellor Kohl and his NATO allies. As a matter of fact, it will not be possible to remove the security reservations of the USSR at this point by De Maiziere's vision of a Western alliance with a changed military doctrine and without a "forward strategy," which would entail the conversion of a primarily military into a primarily political alliance. According to information from the White House, released immediately after De Maiziere's statement, President Bush would accept such a solution. After all, one can hardly expect the FRG to leave the Western alliance.

What can the solution to this delicate issue be? Gorbachev and Shevardnadze have made it clear that they want to have a say and to influence any decision on Germany's future alliance membership. They demand security guarantees for themselves—and for all European states—and intend to insist emphatically on this in the upcoming two-plus-four talks. The neutrality of a future Germany, as suggested by the Modrow government, seems no longer to be a possible variant. Double membership in NATO and the Warsaw Pact is not considered useful by the Germans. The possibility of NATO membership has so far been strictly rejected by Moscow. Thus, a compromise will have to be found that will safeguard the justified interests of the Soviet Union.

According to Foreign Minister Genscher, the prelude to the two-plus-four talks in Moscow is to be assessed positively because it leaves room for discussion on the future alliance membership of a united Germany. Bonn is apparently satisfied with De Maiziere's mission in Moscow.

Meckel on Germany's 'Bridging Function'

LD0405194590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1905 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN Reporter)—As the smallest of the six partners in the Bonn two-plus-four foreign ministers' meeting, the GDR intends to contribute to the changes in Germany that are bringing forward the whole of Europe, according to Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (SPD) [Social Democratic Party]. History to date is not acquainted with this role for Germany, Meckel told ZDF [German Television] on the eve of the ministers' meeting. It is now a matter of ending the post-war era, and at the same time creating prospects for the new Europe. The GDR could take on a bridging function in this, considering its links with the East, the minister said on the program "What now, Herr Meckel?"

The SPD politician came out against the idea of dual membership by Germany in NATO and the Warsaw Treaty proposed by the Soviet foreign minister. It is difficult to imagine in practical terms, Meckel said. NATO's intention of integrating the GDR depends on changes within the Western alliance. The latest proposals from Washington give grounds for hope. Not only must the land-based short-range nuclear missiles go but also the nuclear battlefield weapons. [They must go] quickly and on both sides. [no quotation marks as received]

Through its economic ties with the Soviet Union, the GDR is contributing something important to a united Germany. Relations with Moscow should be intensified on a different basis, not as a junior partner like before. That will also serve the Soviet Union's interests.

Diestel, FRG Ministers Call for Cooperation

LD0505132290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 5 May 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The interior ministerial conference of the FRG states which, at the invitation of GDR Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel, met in East Berlin for the first time, has called for close cooperation between the states of the FRG and the GDR. Both Diestel and the FRG partners said that a federal laender structure in the GDR is a fundamental condition for German unity.

The federal state guarantees the citizen a greater democratic say than a centralized state, and is countering a concentration and abuse of power, a joint statement says, which was adopted at the end of the session. [passage omitted]

Sale of Soviet Military Equipment to U.S. Denied

LD0705141790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 May 90

[Text] According to reports from Washington, in recent years Soviet military equipment and military secrets were purchased by the U.S. Government to the tune of $205 million. It is characteristic of the deals that in Romania it was directed by the Ceausescu family, and 20 percent of the income was directed to their private bank accounts in Switzerland. What is embarrassing for us is that according to the reports from Washington, in addition to the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, Hungary or Hungarian persons were also involved in the deal. Our reporter Peter Marvanyi phoned major General Dr. Karoly Jagda to inquire about the details.

[Begin recording] [Marvanyi] Are you confirming or denying the U.S. news that they obtained Soviet armaments for the U.S. sercet service from Hungary as well?

[Jagda] I am strongly denying this. When Soviet military equipment came into Hungary as part of the Soviet-Hungarian trade of goods, its resale to a third party could only happen on the basis of specific Soviet permits. This was the essential condition of export. In addition to this, I maintain that order 21/1990 of the Council of Ministers, which regulates it, is the world's most stringent regulation.

[Marvanyi] Forgive me, it is obvious that this did not happen legally, but perhaps illegally?

[Jagda] The Hungarian military is basically untouched by this matter. The Hungarian military never carried out any kind of business activities. It does not do this and will not do this. It has no license for such activities. We submit our requirements for imports through the Trade Ministry, and our only link with exports is that we wish to market some of the equipment which became superfluous following the reductions in armament as a result of the Vienna arms reduction negotiations. This is in line with the decision of the Council of Ministers.

[Marvanyi] Forgive me, but do you find it inconceivable that someone could have carried out this transaction in such a manner that even the Defense Ministry did not know about it?

[Jagda] The licensing procedures are so strict that, for example, the customer, if he is not the end user, must present a certificate showing who will be the end user.

[Marvanyi] Hungary, as we well know, did sell certain military equipment, I understand, to countries in the Middle East, and here and there. Could this not have happened under the cover of such a deal?

[Jagda] No, the weapons we have sold were handweapons, and the ammunition was of Hungarian manufacture. So in this case we did not need to ask permission. [end recording]

Departing Soviet Ambassador on Relations

AU0505182690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 May 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Soviet Ambassador Boris Stukalin by Laszlo L. Lengyel; place and date not given: "Boris Stukalin Interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Excerpts] Soon Boris Stukalin, who has been the Soviet ambassador in Budapest for almost five years, will leave Hungary permanently.

[Lengyel] You have been the Soviet ambassador in Hungary for years. During your tenure, there have been more important events than there had been for decades, and the changes show a change in the regime. How did you live through this period? To what extent are our bilateral relations different today from what they were when you arrived in Hungary?

[Stukalin] Indeed, this period in which I represented the Soviet Union has been particularly rich in unusual events. We have witnessed how the radical reforms in the Soviet Union increased the world's interest in the Soviet Union and changed our relations. The world stopped seeing us as a conservative force and began regarding us as a force bound for restructuring. The whole world could see for itself that we were serious about the freedom of political choice and we were consistently respecting the principles of sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. These principles also determine our approach to the changes under way in Hungary.

The Soviet restructuring and the Hungarian reforms made it inevitable to put our entire system of relations on new bases. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] What direction can our bilateral relations develop in the future? What kind of relations does the Soviet Union envisage having with Hungary in the future?

[Stukalin] We are ready to develop our relations in the spirit of mutual confidence, good-neighborliness by taking into consideration each other's national interests. At the same time, we must get rid of the distortions of the past, a rather complex and painful process, but similarly important for both countries, something that we must carry out together. The times of loud slogans praising friendship have passed. The time has come to set out on the road of normal and civilized relations based on realistic demands and priorities. Both countries are equally interested in preserving peace and security and in building a common European home. In my view, this should also determine our future foreign policy cooperation. We have great hopes for shifting to world market conditions in economic cooperation. [passage omitted]

[Lengyel] What do you consider to be your greatest achievement and your greatest failure in your diplomatic activity in Budapest?

[Stukalin] The activity of the Soviet ambassador is evaluated in Moscow, and therefore even my professional ethics would not allow me to talk about my "great achievements" or "great failures." All I can say is that I was always greatly satisfied when, during my personal discussions, I had the opportunity to present the essence of our new policy, of the process of restructuring in its entire complexity and contradictions, and thus to dissipate the reservations, doubts, and the lack of confidence. [passage omitted]

Chief of Staff Borsits Comments on Withdrawal

LD0505172690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 May 90

[Report on interview with Chief of Staff Laszlo Borits by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] We have asked Chief of Staff Laszlo Borits for an explanation of some unconfirmed news. Today [5 May] Radio Free Europe reported that Soviet Colonel-General Burlakov said in a statement to PRAVDA that there were problems concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. According to Burlakov, it will be difficult to keep to the agreement according to which the last Soviet soldier must leave Hungary by June 1991. We could not find out in which edition of PRAVDA this was, and in precisely what kind of form the statement appeared, but in any case we telephoned the chief of staff.

[Begin recording] [Borsits] I was very surprised by the news. In the intergovernmental agreement signed by the two foreign ministers on 10 March of this year in Moscow, it was laid down that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary's territory must be completed in its entirety by June 30 next year.

In my opinion, what Col.-Gen. Burlakov has said now is his individual statement. In contrast to this, I can say that the withdrawal, which began on 12 March, has been implemented so far with absolute precision according to our plans, according to the schedule, the scheduled plan.

[Reporter] Except that if we take into account the Soviet troop withdrawal plans, and the timetable, then the great pace of Soviet troop withdrawal lasts precisely from mid-May to say, the end of September. This is when most of them are withdrawing from Hungary. So perhaps this might also be timed, so that Col.-Gen. Burlakov announces this exactly before the season.

[Borsits] In practice, there is a more intensive withdrawal starting 20 April. The Soviet side undertook this obligation in the agreement, which was made public.

[Reporter] We cannot ignore, either, the Col.-Gen.'s statement, according to which: Negative effects have to be reckoned with in Soviet-Hungarian economic relations, which are already tense today because of the Soviet troop withdrawals.

[Borsits] At the time, it was laid down in the agreement that the questions of economic accounting, and the unsettled nature of economic relations, or their not being entirely settled—a negative effect, as Col.-Gen. Burlakov put it—according to this, cannot influence the pace of Soviet troop withdrawals. This, in my opinion, is not the affair of the military. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. Borsits, don't you think that with the statement from Col.-Gen. Burlakov, Hungary and the Hungarian Government has received an indirect political warning? What I am thinking of is that in the given case, the Soviet troops being withdrawn from East Europe, from Hungary, and from Czechoslovakia, could cause serious internal political problems at home. This question could become really problematic alongside the independence of the Baltic countries, when another mass of problems is raining down on the Soviet leadership.

[Borsits] All these factors, were taken into consideration at the time when we were working on the agreement. Naturally, the events in connection with the Baltic republics which have happened since then cannot in my opinion influence the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic and Czechoslovakia, the ordered and organized implementation of this. I, for my part, am of the opinion that this cannot be interpreted as a message, either to the Hungarian Government or to the military leadership. I interpret this as Col.-Gen. Burlakov having perhaps expressed his individual opinion in this statement; perhaps he spoke about this. I would once again say that we have to look precisely at what was said in this statement. [end recording]

Delegates to Council of Europe Listed

LD0605173190 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 6 (MTI)—From Monday [7 May] on, the delegation of the new, democratically elected Hungarian parliament will for the first time take part in a session of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe (CE).

The president of the delegation is Jozsef Bratinka (Hungarian Democratic Forum) [HDF]. And the deputy president Istvan Szent-Ivanyi (Alliance of Free Democrats). The four members are Andras Baka (HDF), Gen Ivan (Independent Smallholders' Party), Laszlo Kovacs (Hungarian Socialist Party), and Sandor Karcsay (Christian Democratic People's Party).

The spring session of the assembly, to open on Monday [7 May], will focus on the Central and East European changes.

Hungary applied for full membership in the CE last November. After the parliamentary elections, senior officeholders of the council indicated that Hungary would most probably be admitted to the organization in autumn this year.

New Hungary-CSFR Policy on Danube

LD0705111590 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 7 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 7, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Water management talks between Hungary and Czechoslovakia ended at the weekend with both sides signing a protocol on a new policy on river control, to be worked out this year, which will serve as a basis for the joint regulation of the 142 km stretch of the Danube between Rajka and Szob along the border between Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

A new policy has been made necessary by the suspension of the Bos-Nagymaros dam project, work on which has restricted river traffic over the last few years. With the halting of construction work joint river control operations have now to be speeded up to be able to guarantee safe shipping.

At the initiative of the Hungarians, industrial dredging is to be reduced considerably, from the nearly 4 million cubic metres of deposits removed in 1989 to around half that amount this year. As a result more water will remain in the deeper shipping lanes when the water level is low.

Routine shallow dredging, however, will be slightly increased this year to 160,000 cubic metres.

As to joint flood prevention, both sides have expressed satisfaction at the state of dikes and other riverbank defences.

Antall Discusses Government Plans

LD0605202890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 May 90

[From "The Week" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I welcome to the studio Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who was this week commissioned with forming a government. Let us clear something up. Who will appoint your ministers once the government is put together, for it is not yet ready?

[Antall] First, I am prime minister designate.

[Announcer] Designate, yes, yes.

[Antall] Second, according to the present Constitution, the parliament elects the members of the Council of Ministers. That is, the interim president of the republioc designated me, and as a continuation of this, the parliament will, after the prime minister, elect the other ministers, together with the prime minister. On the basis of the agreement reached between the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the SZDSZ [Hungarian Democratic Forum, Alliance of Free Democrats], if the parliament accepts this, then this will be modified as follows: The parliament elects the prime minister; the prime minister elected by the parliament puts together the government list; the parliament votes confidence in the government, the members of the government; the president of the republic appoints the ministers, naturally with the countersignature of the prime minister. This means the president of the republic cannot appoint anyone other than those in whom the parliament has voted confidence, and whose appointment the prime minister countersigns. [passage omitted: in a parliamentary democracy, whether a constitutional monarchy or a parliamentary republic, it is unthinkable that the president should not act in accordance with this]

[Reporter] You mentioned at your news conference in the parliament on Thursday [3 May] afternoon, that although there is no government yet, you intend to put together a shortened government program, and submit this. What do you mean by shortened?

[Antall] One thing is that three coalition partners are carrying out negotiations on forming a government. Naturally, this means a significant part of the government list is ready, and of course I am familiar with and know the majority of the minister designates, and also the political state secretaries whom I will propose. This is one issue. The other issue is that according to the Constitution, the program must be put on the table at the same time as the government is presented. The program is being worked out at the moment. By a shortened program I mean...[changes thought] the meaning of the shortened program is that the prime minister must submit the government program before the parliament, which naturally taken in itself too, is like the government program of any other country, which can be 30 pages or 40 pages long...

[Reporter, interrupting] is this a crisis program, or something of this nature?

[Antall] It is not a crisis program but a standard government program. I was referring to this being a shortened version because it is my intention, we wish to prepare at the same time, a wider, broader government program, containing the background material too, together with the government program that has to be submitted in the prime ministerial statement. Then, finally, when we have taken over the ministries, and it is really within our means to establish the country's economic situation, and with a general survey, establish Hungary's real economic, political circumstances, and so on, then after 90 days, we wish to present a complete, comprehensive program to the country, which will determine the country's line of direction for some years. [passage omitted: reporter says he will not ask Antall to reveal names; Antall says until the list is completely concluded there could always be changes]

At Wednesday's [9 May] session of the National Assembly, we will debate the law on the listing of ministries because we will make a proposal there for certain changes. These naturally will not affect the body of civil servants and will not affect the experts at all at this moment. At the individual minstries, which it may be proposed to merge, it does not mean that if the bill

proposes that two ministries or offices should merge, that these cease. On the contrary, it is a question of the best forces from everywhere having to be concentrated for the directing work. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] You said, also at your Thursday [3 May] news conference in the parliament, that you will hold talks with important economic persons during the weekend. Can we find out something about this? With whom, with what result?

[Antall] [passage omitted] We held talks now, too. On the one hand, I held talks with various experts today, too, in connection with the working out of the government program. I do not wish to name names now, but I held talks with leading Swiss and French banking experts, and economic experts. I can honestly say that despite the difficulties of the country, and despite the critical spots, speaking with these experts, the way I see our external evaluation is in my view encouraging. I would like to emphasize from this point of view too, that the agreement that we made in the past days with the Alliance of Free Democrats had a very positive effect on governments, in banking circles. With this, in effect, a guarantee is given to the SZDSZ in connection with the person of the president of the republic, since with Arpad Goncz, we found a person who is acceptable to almost all parties, and whom we consider to be a person suitable for performing the tasks of the president of the republic standing above the parties. Thus, in effect, with the curtailment of the principle of the two-thirds majority, we can create a governable Hungary where normal parliamentary relations will develop, and this has a very reassuring effect on the financial world also, and has caused a positive effect in all spheres. [passage omitted]

So, this has an unequivocally positive effect, and this is a compromise that makes stable governing possible for the MDF, together with its allies. At the same time, it also gives a guarantee for the opposition. Anyone who evaluates this in a negative way, from any point of view, I can state does not precisely perceive the tasks facing us, and does not have a precise perception of the operation of a parliamentary democracy.

[Reporter] Mr. Chairman, thank you for accepting the invitation.

Goncz Interview on Past, Political Parties

LD0505214890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 5 May 90

[Interview with Acting President Arpad Goncz by Eszter Raday from the "168 Hours" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Raday] How do you cope with the situation that with one stroke you had become a national institution, not only the president of the republic but also the, if I may say so, the creditworthy person, since in the past days there were continuous references to the fact that you are acceptable to all.

[Goncz] I am quite certain I am not acceptable to all, I think it would be even a little insulting to be acceptable to all. There is something uplifting in this, something moving, something even comical.

[Raday] Comical?

[Goncz] Surrealistic. In this morning's interview the reporter asked for my streetcar ticket, since he happened to see it, and asked me if I have bought the next month's one because this one was for April. Then I had to laugh, thinking: Good Lord, I don't have to get streetcar tickets now.

[Raday] Until now you used the streetcars?

[Goncz] Of course.

[Raday] Didn't you have a car?

[Goncz] Yes, I had one, but I wouldn't use it to get to the city center.

[Raday] Now you can't travel by streetcar?

[Goncz] Nobody will prevent me from sitting on a streetcar.

[Raday] So as president of the republic, you will travel by streetcar from time to time as a relaxation?

[Goncz] It is necessary for my self-esteem that I should travel by streetcar and not only by Mercedes.

[Raday] Is it not a little strange to sit in the Mercedes with a bodyguard?

[Goncz] It is strange. I consider myself a grown-up, and it is odd that I am being looked after.

[Raday] When in recent days there were talks about the president of the republic and about yourself, I heard several references to your past, your Smallholders Party [FKGP] past, your contacts through Istvan Bibo with the National Peasants' Party, or as it was called in 1956 the Petofi Party. From all these we would think your links with the Smallholders' Party are more organic [as heard], older, or that your path could have led more naturally to the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] than to the network of free enterprises or the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], both of which you were a founding member.

[Goncz] Look, I was not a party-man anywhere, I got into the FKGP because I was in the resistance movement, and those people with whom I had contacts in the Pal Teleki Worker's Cooperative, formed the center of the FKGP at the same time. I was not a communist, but I was in the armed resistance. There were not many of us. My membership in the FKGP seemed natural and obvious, and what took me into the resistance movement was the endless inhumanities I had experienced around me. If you lived at that time, very probably you would have been in the same position, such inhumanities could not be tolerated without trying to do something. The

Alliance of Free Democrats, the democratic opposition, for me represented the fight against exclusion, against discrimination, the struggle in an organized form against the inhumanities of the party- state.

[Raday] So the reasons why in those days you entered the FKGP were the same reasons why you entered...

[Goncz, interrupting] The very same reasons took me there. If you look around, you will find plenty of people in the SZDSZ who took part in 1956. Perhaps it is because they were the first ones who identified without reservation with 1956, very probably this is what brought Imre Mecs there as well, what brought Miklos Vasarhelyi there. To be quite frank, it never occured to me that party membership would tie you down. I am a free enough man to have my opinions decided not by my party membership, but rather by the party which is nearest to my opinions.

[Raday] Turning back to 1956, you were the second accused in the Bibo trial, and I know you were prepared for the heaviest sentences, since you were accused of treason, with plotting against the state or attempts to overthrow the state with the help of foreign powers. In spite of this, you made a statement once that you managed to preserve you spiritual health in prison as well, and this is how you managed to get out of prison. How? If someone is living for weeks in the shadow of a death sentence, how can you preserve your spiritual health?

[Goncz] Look, you can live for a long time with the knowledge that you have cancer, so you can live with the knowledge of this as well. In addition, you develop in yourself some self-defense mechanisms—it is a contradictory situation. You do not lose you optimism, you simply cannot imagine that you will be executed the day after tomorrow, just as you cannot imagine a billion dollars, or light years, or other things. Equally, you cannot imagine a life sentence either. While you live with the thought of such possibilities, you work out for yourself, as a self-defense mechanism, how you are going to behave under the gallows.

[Raday] So you prepared for that, as for a role, how you were going to be put away with dignity?

[Goncz] Naturally, so as not to leave behind shame, that your memory should remain, that they could not say a 56 man died as a coward, etc. This defense mechanism was worked out by all of us. I do not know of anyone who would have had to be carried to his execution.

[Raday] I know you were always making new beginnings. You told me before I switched on the recorder that you always had to start again, and you were always something different. As a lawyer, you were a welder, as a welder, you became a agronomist, as agronomist you were a revolutionary, after that ...

[Goncz, interrupting] As a revolutionary, a translator, that is so.

[Raday] Yes, translator and revolutionary, but I would rather say, translator as a prisoner under life-sentence, and then became a writer from being a translator. You were 52-years-old when your first work was published, this seems a very, very slim product of a writer's life, even if we add to it the large number of literary translations. This somehow does not quite fit, the results of the translator

[Goncz] Look, I started late and this determines the results. It also took five to seven years before a piece of my writing got published.

[Raday] Did the writing take five to seven years, or was it the struggle to get it published?

[Goncz] To get it published; until you found the gap in the cultural policy through which it could slip in, or the person who had the courage to let it slip through. I don't quite know what to tell you. As a consequence of this I could never make a living out of writing.

[Raday] This was provided for by the translations?

[Goncz] This was the instrument of my freedom, so I am not in the least angry with literary translation. Indeed, it is part of my lifework, if I am allowed to say such a thing. But after a time you start to get annoyed that you gave a substantial part of your life to some unknown U.S. gentlemen, instead of writing your own thing. As you know, a writer's life work gets noticed when he has written everything and the opposite of everything. I have not yet gotten so far.

[Raday] You told me this morning that your life had little impact.

[Goncz] If you look at it by the number of pages—what is permanent from what I have done—then it is good if I can say I had worked with 2-3 percent efficiency, a decent [word indistinct] machine's is over 50 percent.

[Raday] Last year you received a literary prize, the Whitland prize, which is given to individuals who make significant contribution to the mutual exchange of literary works. This is a U.S. prize, and with this at last at the age of 67 you could have become a semi-professional writer. But by then you took on various other offices, became president of the Writers' Association, deputy chairman of the Human Rights Commission in Hungary, deputy chairman of the Historical Justice Committee, and now president of the republic. Do you still think that your lifework remains so slim?

[Goncz] The truth is history interferes with everything, it interfered with this as well. But at the same time, the lifework as a human being, not only the literary lifework, is made up of many parts, from roles allocated to you, roles you undertake voluntarily, from your family, from the presidency of the Republic, composed of very many parts, so I do not know what I can tell you about it's achievements.

[Raday] Do you feel it is a sacrifice?

[Goncz] In no sense whatsoever. I feel it as an honor, I am moved by it; at the same time I am certain there are aspects of it which I will find very difficult to tolerate.

[Raday] Which are these?

[Goncz] Being tied down.

[Raday] Indeed, you said you are a free man.

[Goncz] Even when I worked as an agronomist, I was a free bird; I was in the countryside, walked my 25-30 kilometers a day; I was breathing with the countryside.

[Raday] Even in the prison, as you said, you were free.

[Goncz] You know why I was free in the prison? It was not us who were the prisoners; they shut themselves out, while we were only locked in. The doors were closed, and we were what we wanted to be.

[Raday] [Name indinstinct] in an interview evaluated this appointment as the latest move from the East European writers's mafia, that after V. Havel you, too, had become president of the Republic. But in a more serious way, Gyorgy Szabad said that you as president of the republic must represent the achieved sovereignty of the people. But what about your own, as an intellectual, because we are experiencing that Havel as president of the Republic frequently makes decisions very different from those he made as a writer and intellectual. I think that as an opposition intellectual he could not always even accept his decisions. Are you also considering this possibility?

[Goncz] If you look around the world, in this region where we are living, and you are not a Cassandra who can foresee the future, than we have to consider all kinds of decisions. I would like to believe I accepted this responsibility with my eyes open. I very much hope that events will not force me to make decisions which are contrary to my conscience.

Goncz on Position, Foundations of Democracy

LD0605215290 Budapest MTI in English 1836 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 6 (MTI)—It is a tradition in central Europe that a writer has to take over the politicians' role, particularly if democracy has not yet been established, Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, said in an interview aired by "A Het" (The Week), a political magazine of the Hungarian Television, on Sunday.

He added that the foundations of democracy were laid in Hungary last year. If they are stabilized, Mr Goncz said, his political role would come to an end.

Mr Goncz, who used to be an anti-fascist resistance fighter, became a politician of the Smallholders' Party, spent six years in prison after the 1956 revolution and joined the oppositionist Alliance of Free Democrats, said his political views had not undergone major changes over the past four or five decades.

As a writer, Mr Goncz said, he is better known abroad than in Hungary. Earlier he had to wait 5 to 7 years for his works being published in Hungary. His next volume containing six dramas is to come out in two or three weeks. The "Thornbirds", a popular series on the program of the Hungarian Television, was also translated by Mr Goncz.

Goncz Speaks at Journalists Meeting

LD0605203890 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 6 (MTI)—The presidium of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), rallying 250,000 journalists in 119 countries, started a session in Balatonfured on Sunday. The participants were greeted by Gabor Bencsik, general secretary of the Hungarian Journalists' Union, and Kaarle Nordenstreng, IOJ president.

The opening speech was delivered by Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary. According to Mr Goncz, it proves the particularly important role of the press that it greatly contributed to Hungary reaching the election of a free parliament in a peaceful way.

Goncz said he considered it his presidential task to defend the free Hungarian press.

After the Second World War, Mr Goncz said, the IOJ championed such noble ideals as the equality of races, peace, freedom of the press, and protection of the values and interests of professional journalism. At present, these idea are no longer represented in a uniform way in the IOJ, Mr Goncz said.

The elected office-holders of the International Organization of Journalists are meeting in a period when a bridge is being built between the two parts of Europe, and Hungary seeks to promote this process in the political and cultural sense alike, Mr. Goncz said.

Social Democrats Reaffirm Petrasovits' Leadership

LD0605192490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpt] The Social Democrats board meeting confirmed Anna Petrasovits in her post, the first person in the party. The delegates today continued their discussions behind closed doors, to such an extent that they even closed the doors of the headquarters, not only the doors of the meeting chamber. Our office was phoned a short time ago by a member of the National Board, according to whom many were not allowed into the building, even those who were actually invited, and others were forcibly ejected. Marianna Schiller, a member of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party National Board, also said there were some at the meeting

who were not members of the National Board. In her view these were invited to support Petrasovits. At the same time, Marianna Schiller said, the closed meeting was proposed by the enemies of Anna Petrasovits. Peter Szorenyi interviewed the chairwoman.

[Begin recording] [Szorenyi] Your resignation was not accepted by the board. Are you satisfied?

[Petrasovits] This is not a question of satisfaction, difficult weeks and months are to come, similar to those which we recently lived through during the past year. I have neither negative nor positive emotional reaction to today's events. We must continue to work as before.

[Szorenyi] Why do you think they did not accept your resignation?

[Petrasovits] Obviously it reflects the confidence of the membership, and this is the spiritual factor which gives me strength to continue the work.

[Szorenyi] Have you found the "so-called" responsible persons for not getting into parliament?

[Petrasovits] This is not necessary, this party had paid the learning fees. We made many mistakes and gained much experience. It was a mistaken political step to form the relations with the individual trade unions. The idea in theory was not a bad one, but at the same time it was still a serious political mistake. We have forgotten that there are no real, working trade unions in Hungary. We are supporting without reservations the right of self-organization for the workers, the right to form independent trade unions and workers councils. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Social Democrat Schiller Criticizes Petrasovits

LD0605223190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 May 90

[Report on interview with Marian Schiller by Gyorgy Ney from the "Late Evening Chronicle" program; place and date not given]

[Text] The board of the Social Democrats confirmed Anna Petrasovits in her post today. Not much is known about the meeting since it was held behind closed doors. A member of the national board of the party said several people were simply ejected from the meeting, and there were people who were not board members at all. Marian Schiller, a member of the national board, was interviewed by Gyorgy Ney:

[Begin recording] [Ney] You have already phoned Hungarian Radio this afternoon. In the evening several million people saw you on television news where, at the end of your statement, you said things we are not used to in Hungary, even now. You said Anna Petrasovits should not only leave the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, but also the neighborhood of the party.

[Schiller] She obtained power by cheating; she falsified a number of votes, 800 votes exactly. Actually the chairman of the party is Dr. Janos Korompai, our member from Eger, who would have been much more suitable for this post. Nearly everybody voted for him at the election.

[Ney] This was not mentioned until now in the Hungarian press. Public opinion did not hear much of this. How is it that you did not come out with this?

[Schiller] There were several people involved in this from the present leadership of the party, so perhaps they did not want to boast. They in fact helped Anna Petrasovits gain power by cheating.

[Ney] Presumably you also had political motives for taking responsibility for these statements, for contacting the radio with the statement that today's board meeting was also formally completely irregular.

[Schiller] What I mean is that if Anna Petrasovits remains in the party she will completely and irrevocably ruin the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. Once and for all, this party will be written off abroad and in Hungary as well. My father is the leader of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and telephone calls are coming by the dozens from abroad, that this woman cannot be accepted as president anywhere, neither by Hungarians abroad, nor by politicians abroad. She turned the party toward the right, and this is unimaginable for a Social Democratic Party. Frequently she has offended the West European parties, such as the Socialist Parties in Portugal, Spain, and France, because she was always searching for the way to Europe via the United States.

[Ney] What do you think, how many members of the board hold the same views as you?

[Schiller] Perhaps around 80 percent.

[Ney] And this 80 percent is unable to achieve what they want?

[Schiller] Partly they call in strangers, who shout, clap, and shake their fists at those who vote against her. They throw out those who speak up against her, myself for example.

[Ney] Did they throw you out?

[Schiller] Yes, of course. [end recording]

FIDESZ Official on Coalition Prospects

AU0405133090 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Apr 90 p 5

[Interview with Viktor Orban, head of the parliamentary faction of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], by Janos Desi; place and date not given: "FIDESZ Will Preserve Its Previous Variety—A Grand Coalition Could Overcome the Economic Crisis Best"]

[Excerpts] [Orban] Many people think that we claim that it is in the interest of the opposition to overthrow the government. This is not true. No one would benefit from the fall of the government. In such a case, we would lose more time, and extricating ourselves from the economic crisis should begin as soon as possible. As a citizen, it is in my interest to set things right quickly. I do not know whether this government will stay, but we would not like it to be forced to leave prematurely. [passage omitted]

[Desi] Obviously, there is still a lot of uncertainty around. In this situation, has the Alliance of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] already succeeded in working out its relations with the government and the parliamentary parties?

[Orban] Not yet, because we have nothing to refer to. Naturally, we have already formulated the areas in which we want to pressure the government: primarily on educational, environmental protection, and pension affairs. Our experts are already working on bills on these subjects. We will also submit some concepts concerning the modification of constitutional rules. Naturally, we also want to be active in national minority and religious affairs, all the more so because Gabor Fodor will be the chairman of the parliamentary committee in charge of these affairs. [passage omitted]

[Desi] Even prior to the elections, the FIDESZ called for a grand coalition, and, a few days ago, you said again that the two large parties were not so much apart in certain issues.

[Orban] Today, I see fewer chances of a government coalition between the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [SZDSZ-MDF] than before the elections, but I do not think such a coalition is impossible. According to FIDESZ, an SZDSZ-MDF coalition could overcome our economic crisis best. We encourage such cooperation even if we do not benefit from it in every aspect, because, in light of our previous experience, large parties often come to a compromise to the detriment of the small ones. It seems now that the MDF will be able to form a government without the SZDSZ. [passage omitted]

[Desi] Among other things, FIDESZ has gained popularity so far by representing a specific shade in the political arena. What image do you want to project about yourself as deputies?

[Orban] The FIDESZ will stick to its previous variety: as many styles as there are people. We will be radical and energetic if necessary, and also cautious and diplomatic if necessary. [passage omitted]

MDF Statement on Government Responsibilities

LD0405204990 Budapest MTI in English 1331 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] has forwarded the following statement to the Hungarian National Press Service:

"The freely and democratically elected new Hungarian Parliament designated the president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] to form the government.

"We are confident that the negotiations with our coalition partners will be successful and the Republic of Hungary will soon have an efficient government.

"The country and world opinion follows with great interest, from time to time with some concern, the establishment of the new regime, the emergence of new institutions and the shaping of a new economic programme.

"Therefore, we deem it important during this transitory period to reaffirm the commitment of the Hungarian Democratic Forum to carry out the existing agreements with the international financial institutions and to maintain the debt-servicing capability of the country.

"The HDF is determined quickly to establish a market economy. Private property, free enterprise and private initiative are the basic principles of its plan. Orderly privatization will be speeded up and carried out in a properly sequenced manner.

"The HDF feels that competition in the economy must be strengthened, the price system and foreign trade liberalized, the state budget and the balance of payments improved, inflation reduced and a strong, convertible national currency established.

"In this spirit, it will encourage domestic savings and investments and extensive foreign direct investments as well.

"The HDF insists on the modernization of the budgetary process and the overhaul of the monetary and the financial system, with particular emphasis on the tax system and the banking industry.

"During the first 100 days, the government must implement a series of measures which will start or reinforce these policies.

"At the same time, it will set up a fact-finding commission on the current state of the economy, as soon as its results are available. The government will establish and present a 3-year economic programme. This programme will include the setting up of a social safety net to mitigate the consequences of the resulting unemployment and to reduce social or regional tensions.

"We are confident that the 1336 transformation of the economic order along these lines will create the proper conditions for economic growth, for the improvement of

the well-being of the population, and for the integration of Hungary into the European economy.

"For the implementation of this programme, we ask patience and support from the Hungarian people, trust and help from abroad."

Conference on Protecting Minorities Opens

LD0605174490 Budapest MTI in English 1628 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 6 (MTI)—An international conference entitled "Refugee Affairs, Protection of Minorities, Integration" opened at Berekfurdo, Eastern Hungary, on Sunday [5 May].

Organized by the East European section of the European Parliament and the Reformed Church in Hungary, the conference is attended by more than fifty British, French, Greek, Hungarian, Norwegian, Romanian, U.S. and West German officials of the international organizations in charge of refugee affairs. The conference is aimed at discussing experience in humanitarian services, and further plans.

On the first day, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai analysed the situation of the Hugnarian minorities after the 1920 Trianon peace treaty, and spoke about Hungary's role in receiving refugees from Romania.

Mr Szokai emphasized that Hungary hit as it is by grave economic and social problems would be unable to maintain its refugee service without European cooperation. He urged that the European countries should elaborate a general charter on the protection of minorities and set up a system of institutions for enforcing the codified rights.

The conference is to last until Friday [11 May]. On the closing day, the participants are to leave for Oradea, Romania, and meet representatives of the church and social life of that city.

Mock Urges Security for Europe's Minorities

LD0605200890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 May 90

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] In Romania, the electoral campaign began burdened with a variety of internal and nationality problems. Far it be from us to try to influence the outcome of the elections in any way, since this is a matter only for the people of Romania. But the government in office until then and the new government to be formed could do worse than to listen to the views expressed by Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock to the cameras of "The Week" program:

[Begin Mock recording, in German, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] We believe that in a new Europe it is very important that not only should the existence of the groups of nationalities be recognized, but their cultural development should also be secured. The minorities enrich the culture of every country.

Since every government is responsible for the events taking place in their country, it is very important that the Romanian Government should also ensure the minorities in Romania, those minorities who speak Hungarian, German, Serbian, and other minorities, have every rights of existence, especially during a period when human rights enjoy new recognition. It must be demonstrated that the rights of existence of those with different languages, different religions are fully acknowledged.

Toleration toward those who hold different opinions is part of democracy, and the toleration of a different culture and different language. Finally, something more also belongs to democracy: the opportunity for a nationality group to develop.

I believe this question so important it must be handled at a joint European level. I myself, am fully convinced the security and cooperation summit to be convened in the autumn should also consider the guarantees for the existence of the European minorities. [end recording]

Reportage on Secretary of State Baker's Visit

Baker Meets With Leaders

LD0605144790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] The U.S. secretary of state is in Poland on a brief, official visit and has been received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The U.S. guest presented information on the two-plus-four meeting that took place in Bonn yesterday.

During his meeting with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, James Baker handed over a letter from the head of West German diplomacy, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in the name of the six states represented at the two-plus-four conference and containing a request for Poland to participate in the Paris meeting of this conference.

After his meeting with the U.S. secretary of state, Minister Skubiszewski reported that in Paris the Polish side will present its stance on questions of security relating to Poland, and above all on the border question. Expressing satisfaction with the resolutions of the GDR and FRG parliaments, Minister Skubiszewski said that the passing of these does not yet resolve the need to act in the direction of signing a treaty. The resolutions are political acts, and Poland is concerned to have a regulation that is both political and formal-legal.

Today there were also meetings between James Baker and Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, OKP, and between James Baker and Lech Walesa.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD0605173590 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Baker briefed the president on the arrangements reached during the first two plus four meeting which took place in Bonn on May 5. Jaruzelski thanked the U.S. Government and Baker personally for understanding and support for Poland's stand on the treaty-like confirmation of Poland's western border on two plus four negotiations. Warsaw is ready to play host to a session devoted to discussion of Polish issues.

Against the backdrop of changes taking place in Europe, the two also discussed prospects of European cooperation, stressing the need to deepen and institutionalize the CSCE process, including working out solutions guaranteeing the security of all states of our continent.

Baker and Jaruzelski positively assessed the development of Polish-American relations and expressed a conviction that the treaty on trade and economic relations signed by Premier Mazowiecki during his visit to the U.S. and talks on easing the transfer of technology would further boost Polish-American cooperation.

Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski took part in the talks.

Visit Said 'Proof' of Close Contacts

LD0605180290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 May 90

[Krzysztof Wonja report]

[Text] James Baker's visit can be considered as Poland's advantageous result of efforts to gain a place at the table where matters concerning Germany's unification are decided. The letter brought by the secretary of state contains an invitation to the third session of the two-plus-four conference in Paris, which will deal with the German border issue. Poland will also be present during the negotiations of experts between individual sessions of the conference. Our invitation to the third, and not the second session, which will be held in Berlin, concerns the adopted agenda. In Berlin discussion will concern the foreign links of the new Germany.

After yesterday's two-plus-four meeting this subject has become easier. Moscow is prepared to discuss what to do about the membership of the two German states in NATO and the Warsaw Pact after unification; so far it demands the solutions before unification.

It is true that during Baker's seven-hour stay in Warsaw views were also exchanged on bilateral relations, but the stay was nevertheless dominated by German and European issues. It transpi .s from Skubiszewski's talk with journalists after his meeting with Baker, the Polish side intends to present in Paris its demands not only on the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border but also all issues of interest to us and that concern German unification. Regarding the form of recognition of the final character of the Odra-Nysa border, according to the minster, the declarations of the Bundestag and the GDR People's Chamber are not enough. For very close Polish-German cooperation at the point of unification to begin, without the burden of the border issue, a treaty is needed. Whether it should be initialled before or after the unification—there is no point talking about it now—it is first necessary to agree on its content.

Such a stance was presented to Baker. The visit by the U.S. secretary of state is proof of the close contacts between Washington and Warsaw. James Baker expressed appreciation for the road chosen by Poland and gave assurances of the support it can expect from the U.S. side.

An hour ago a spokesman of the Warsaw Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while reporting to journalists on the visit, said that Poland and the United States have never before been linked by such close relations.

PAP Overview of Visit

LD0605212690 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—"This is an invitation for Poland to take part in the two plus four conference which is to take place in Paris this July. Poland wil be able to touch upon all matters it considers important," stated Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki after meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker who arrived in Warsaw from Bonn for a several-hour visit today.

The premier also added that he was satisfied with the proposals presented by Baker regarding Poland's participation in the conference.

Baker presented Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski with a letter from West Germany's foreign affairs minister containing an invitation for the Polish Government in the name of the six states represented in the two plus four conference. The two statesmen discussed issues of German unification and its implications for Poland. All four powers agree that the problem of the Polish border should be settled by treaty.

The sides also discussed instruments of European cooperation and institutionalization of the CSCE. The American side—in supporting this process—proceeds from the stand that institutionalization cannot mean the exclusion of NATO from Europe.

Baker invited Skubiszewski to pay a visit to the U.S.

During plenary talks, the sides discussed bilateral issues, including mechanisms of permanent Polish-American consultations. The Polish side invited U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney to visit Poland. While discussing scientific and technical cooperation the Polish side stressed President Bush's statement on an easing of the terms of technology transfer.

The Polish side touched upon the matter of easing U.S. visa procedures for Polish citizens. The American side showed understanding for the Polish postulate of granting Polish citizens multiple, long-term visas which would cut waiting lines in front of the visa section of the U.S. Embassy.

Following his meeting with Baker, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski told the press: "In Paris we will present our stand on security issues relating to Poland. In the first place regarding the border, of late there is talk about the new resolutions of the Bundestag of the FRG and the People's Chamber of the GDR and these acts will go further than the to-date ones. This is very good but does not remove the need to act in the direction of a treaty."

James Baker also met with Bronislaw Geremek, the chairman of the OKP Parliamentary Citizen's floor group. Geremek told newsmen: "The visit of Secretary of State Baker take place a day after the two plus four conference and this unequivocally spells out the degree of engagement of the U.S. Adminstration in what Poland considers a matter of its security, its interests.

"I also had the opportunity of telling the secretary of state that following this visit the Poles feel more secure."

At the residence of the U.S. ambassador, Baker met with Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa. Asked whether he was satisfied with the to-date arrangements to the two plus four conference as concerns the Polish border, Walesa replied: "I have always had a somewhat different point of view on this matter. After all the experience with the Germans, the whole continent, all states must be responsible for peace. (...) all of Europe must give guarantees, the whole world pays for mess in Europe, the whole world therefore should not lead to another one."

Commenting on issues discussed during the visit of the U.S. secretary of state, that Polish Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Wladylsaw Klaczynski said that the Polish side laid the key stress on the signing of a treaty with Germany and not its initialling which is only part of this procedure. He added that this would not only be a broader treaty but one far exceeding the issue of border which its name goes to show: "treaty on the foundations of relations between the Republic of Poland and Germany". "We seek a formal-legal settlement," Klaczynski stressed.

Communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

As a result of the meeting of six states (the so-called two plus four) in Bonn on May 5 on the external aspects of the implementation of German unity, the Polish Government has been invited to take part in the meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of the six states which is to take place in Paris in July and will discuss border issues. The invitation assures that the Polish foreign affairs minister will be able to touch upon issues which are assoiated with the border issue. Poland has also been invited to take part in the two plus four meeting on the level of experts which is to immediately precede the Paris debates.

Jaruzelski Comments on Western Border

LD0405180190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] Issues of Poland's foreign policy, particularly relations with her neighbors the Soviet Union and Germany are under discussion at the second part of a Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth deputies' meeting, in which President Jaruzelski is participating. Here is a report by Andrzej Jelenski.

[Jelenski] The meeting was held in the Third of May Constitution Hall in the parliament building. As you have already said, the discussion was on international issues. The German question was tackled, as was the question of contacts with the Soviet Union. There was a great deal said about German unification in particular.

A political and economic assessment of Poland was made. There was discussion of the need to speed up the parliamentary elections, of the issue of economic reform, of the problem of privatization, and of unemployment. There were any number of subjects.

The president also made an assessment of socialism. He was asked to do so by the deputies. There also had to be discussion about the new Constitution of the Republic. There was, of course, debate about the difficult situation of Polish agriculture and people living in rural areas. It was said that, as announced by the government, this situation will soon improve.

The meeting lasted two hours. I have selected for you what the president of the Republic said about the document drawn up by the Polish Foreign Ministry on German unification and the western border.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] It contains very precise decisions concerning Poland's future relations with a unified German state. There is a particularly important matter there for us. The course of the border is described in a very specific and precise manner. We no longer have the definition: secure borders or the border on the Odra and Nysa [Oder and Neisse] or the border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka. The border is described as that running from Swinoujscie, from Wolin Island—points which describe without ambiguity the course of the borderline. This is exceptionally important. The document contains many other elements concerning the nature of relations, the full rights accruing to them, and cooperation. I think it is a very important and necessary document. [end recording]

FRG's Von Weizsaecker Winds Up Visit

Invites Jaruzelski to FRG

LD0405184190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker has ended the official part of his visit to Poland. Before flying to Gdansk, there was a farewell conversation with President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

[Reporter then reads a question he had asked of Richard von Weizsaecker, place and date not given] I am from Polish television. Mr. President, what are your feelings as you leave Warsaw?

[Weiszaecker response, read by reporter] I think we have taken a step forward, in both the political and spiritual sphere of understanding, but above all in human relations. We must, however, continue to work hard on this. I have invited the president [Jaruzelski] to pay us a visit, and I hope to be able to repay, even in part, the magnificent hospitality I have been shown here.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] I share the president's opinion completely. This has been a very important, a very necessary, and, I think, a very fruitful visit. Of course, we must continue to work to resolve the issues we have been tackling—among which there are many complicated and complex problems—in a way beneficial to both sides. I believe we can achieve this. [end recording]

An exceptionally important ceremony, symbolic in Polish-German relations. The FRG president pays homage to the heroic defenders of Westerplatte, whose fate it was to be the first to repulse the attack by the Nazi invader.

In the afternoon, Richard von Weizsaecker met Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, who, among other things, expressed the wish that the president would visit Gdansk more often.

[Begin Walesa recording] [Words indistinct] Gdansk is in Europe; we have European passports and so we should talk about how to arrange it nicely—Gdansk and Europe. [end recording]

Walesa Remarks on Dialogue

LD0405185290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 May 90

[Excerpts] [Announce] FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker has ended the official part of his visit in Poland. [passage omitted on departure from Warsaw Airport] Our visitor, however, has not left Poland.

[Reporter] As we have already announced Richard von Weizsaecker, the FRG president, is in Gdansk today. The honored guest placed flowers on the [war] monument at Westerplatte as well as at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers. He met, among others, Lech Walesa. The Solidarity chairman during this meeting said, among other things:

[Begin Walesa recording] I am reminding you: I am a practical politician. When theorists are discussing, for example, the borders, it seems so obvious to me that (?it is not worth discussing). However, that discussion in my opinion causes, that we are blocking development to other countries. [as heard] If obvious things had long ago been ascertained, then today we would have the problem of the stationing of the Soviet Army [word indistinct] and thus we would be nearer to Lithuania and other countries. Thus I am afraid by drawing out obvious issues, we not only are not doing anything about domestic matters, but at the same time we are blocking others. That epoch is closed; naturally one ought to think that there will never be any unpleasant things from all the sides in Europe, but at the same time one should watch with perspective how the other countries are reforming, that economic borders are going to open, and thus, we need to see, decide, how to do that. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Von Weizsaecker on German Unification

LD0505094590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] It would be a bad thing if a neutral Germany were to remain in the center of Europe, between two unchanged military treaties. The unification of Germany is for Europe a salutary pressure to look for and create a new system of collective security, utilizing the achievements of the CSCE, said FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker at Gdansk University.

Skubiszewski Praises Visit

LD0505143190 Hamburg DPA in German 1400 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has appraised the five-day state visit by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker as a "visit of historic importance." In an interview in the newspaper BILD AM SONNTAG, Skubiszewski said: "The FRG president has thus cleared up some uncertainties. The unfortunate frontier debate on the Oder-Neisse line is over. Now I am optimistic for relations between the two countries, as they have a new foundation since this visit."

In reply to the question of whether, from the Polish point of view, the path to reunification is free, Skubiszewski said: "Yes, of course. I have always regarded the division of Germany as abnormal. Since this decisive week there is also the fact that for me and us Poles it is a source of satisfaction that a statesman of this federal president's stature comes to us with such moving words. Now reconciliation between the two peoples has to a great extent become a reality."

The interview was pre-released to DPA.

Von Weizsaecker Departs for Home

LD0505203990 Warsaw PAP in English 1915 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Gdansk, May 5—Visiting FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker spent the fourth and last day of his Polish visit in the northern regions of Warmia and Zulawy, accompanied by Polish Minister of State Piotr Nowina-Konopka. Before noon President von Weizsaecker and his wife Marianne arrived at Morag, the birthplace town of German 18th-century philosopher and writer Gottfried Herder. The president laid a floral bunch in front of Herder's monument in Morag and visited a local museum which also features an exhibition devoted to the German writer.

Later in the day the West German visitor went to Frombork on the Vistula Bay, where Nicolaus Copernicus spent the last 40 years of his life. President von Weizsaecker and his entourage were led around the Copernicus Museum featuring the Atronomer's works, apparatus he used for his observations of celestial bodies, memorabilia, as well as works of art commemorating the great scholar. Accompanied by Ordinary Bishop of Warmia Edmund Piszcz and Elblag Voivode Zdzislaw Olszewski, the president also visited the Frombork Cathedral and the Episcopal Palace.

From Frombork, President von Weizsaecker made his way for Raczki Elblaskie, a small village just outside the voivodship city of Elblag. The president took part in the inauguration of the first part of the local water supply system, built from the farmers' own funds with the help of the church foundation for water supply for the countryside. The foundation also received a gift—a Volkswagen van—which the president confirmed with a respective document handed to the foundation's chairperson deputy Maria Stolzman.

At about 6 P.M. President Richard von Weizsaecker and his wife left for home from Gdansk, accompanied to the airport by Minister of State Piotr Nowina-Konopka and Gdansk region officials.

Mazowiecki: Border Treaty After German Unity

LD0605174390 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has just stated on Radio France International that Poland is no longer making the signing of a treaty with West and East Germany on its western border a prerequisite for German unification. Mr. Mazowiecki expressed the wish that the signature of a treaty could be arrived at swiftly after the creation of a unified Germany, and that it could be ratified as soon as possible.

On Relations With FRG, Unity

AU0405153090 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 4 May 90 pp 3-4

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Helga Hirsch and Robert Leicht; place and date not given: "A Period of Probation for Germans and Poles"]

[Text] [DIE ZEIT] Mr. Premier, this week President Richard von Weizsaecker is paying an official visit to Poland. When the trip was first planned—last spring—the project was characterized by the remembrance of Hitler's attack on Poland, which started World War II 50 years ago. Now the visit is also characterized by German unity. German past, German future: Which hopes and concerns does the Polish nation have when it thinks of its newly united neighbor in the West?

[Mazowiecki] Permit me to start with some remarks on Richard von Weizsaecker's visit. We await the FRG president with all openness and with the hope for good talks. Richard von Weizsaecker is known as a politician with great moral authority. He has repeatedly commented on German-Polish matters and he has always found the right tone. Thus, his visit will certainly contribute to advancing the coexistence of our peoples and the reconciliation between them.

Now to answer your basic question: We are aware of the fact that our neighbor will be the united German state in the near future. By the way, our attitude was—like that of many Europeans—always characterized by two elements, which are contradictory to a certain extent. On the one hand, we recognize the undoubted right of the Germans to national unity—a fundamental right, which we have always wanted to have respected in our own case throughout our history and which we respect in regard to others. On the other hand, however, there are some concerns. What will this united Germany look like? How important will it be in Europe? To what extent is this already a different Germany? And which course will European history take after German unification? We often think of Thomas Mann's statement: Will Germany be European, or will Europe be, rather, Germany?

In addition to these general fears, there are our particular experiences from being neighbors, which—as it is often said—saw good times, but also bad ones: in particular the time of World War II. If one takes all this into consideration, it is not surprising that fears are arising in Poland—and this is less so since the West German side has so far maintained ambiguity concerning our Western border and has postponed a definite statement.

The task of our policy was and is to enter the new stage of history without any ambiguity so that it does not impede our coexistence and make it more difficult. The basis of our relationship must be clear.

[DIE ZEIT] You mentioned Thomas Mann. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher quotes his statement often and with great agreement: "We do not want a German Europe but a European Germany."

[Mazowiecki] We have noted this and we appreciate it.

[DIE ZEIT] The Polish desire for a clearly guaranteed border is supported by all European states and by both German parliaments. How do you understand this guarantee in detail and what are the basic elements of the Polish draft of a border treaty?

[Mazowiecki] As you know, we sent our draft to the ambassadors of the two German states on 27 April. We will also send it to the other four participants in the "two-plus-four" conference. I do not want to comment on individual formulations of the draft because this will be the subject of diplomatic talks. However, I can tell you something about the basic principles by which our policy is guided in this connection.

We appreciate the statements of the German parliaments: the very clear statement of the new, democratically elected GDR Parliament and the statement of the Bundestag of last November; a future statement is being discussed. All these statements are important—but they are only statements. We want a solution, which has legal consequences. After all, we can imagine only with difficulty that after German unification the Karlsruhe decision, which proceeds from a Reich within the 1937 borders, will still be valid. A regulation must be legally binding and must eliminate all ambiguities. Furthermore—and I have stressed this repeatedly—we want to conclude the talks soon, to initial the draft treaty with the two German governments in the course of the process of German unification, and, subsequently, to sign it with the united Germany.

[DIE ZEIT] Do you think that the treaty could still be called into question by anyone? Why do you put the settlement of the border so much in the foreground of the policy toward Germany?

[Mazowiecki] In the course of the discussion of the past months I once said that our relations are currently going through a period of probation. For the Poles, this is a period of probation during which we have to show to what extent we are determined to really move toward good-neighborly coexistence. For the German side, this is a period of probation during which it has to show to what extent it takes into consideration the security problems of its neighbors and the fears which are linked with this.

Thus, the answer to your question depends on how well we stand the test of this period of probation. Logically, there should not be any obstacles anymore. But will there really be no trends to replace a treaty with mere statements? Let us wait and see. Concerning us, we are approaching the final settlement with goodwill. I think that the statement of our Foreign Minister Skubiszewski at the last session of the Sejm proved this.

It is not the first time that we stressed that we also take into consideration the feelings of the Germans, their suffering, which they had to go through in particular at the end of the war—it is not the first time. I think that this is an expression of our goodwill.

[DIE ZEIT] Mr. Premier, we understand the moving aspects of what you said just now. The latest Bundestag resolution on the western Polish border—it dates back to 8 March—explicitly contains the phrase that this question should be settled by a formal treaty. In his respect, the Bundestag has cut off all attempts to solve the problem below the level of a treaty.

[Mazowiecki] Yes, the Bundestag resolution certainly is a step forward. However, it is necessary to agree on this treaty among us already now and to initial it—and not only after German unification.

[DIE ZEIT] Could the period of probation between our two peoples, which you mentioned, not be made more difficult when Poland emphasizes so much the threatening aspect of the Germans? The absolute majority in the FRG has long been in favor of the final recognition of the Oder-Neisse border as the western Polish border. Would it not be more reasonable to stress the opportunities of future cooperation much more clearly?

[Mazowiecki] Your question implies that we are relying too little on these opportunities. I think that this is not true. We have often spoken about these opportunities

and we have never left this path in our policy. It is probably also not true that we have mainly fanned the fears. We have never stopped talking about reconciliation. I want to repeat what I said at the Solidarity delegates' congress: I consider the reconciliation toward both sides, the reconciliation with the German and the reconciliation with the Russian people, as a basic pillar of my government's foreign policy. However, if the impression develops that too much is being said about fears, one has to recall first that it was not we who brought about this situation, and, second, that these fears have come out quasi naturally from various strata of the society. And the government did not fan this....

[DIE ZEIT] ...but it has not countered it, either.

[Mazowiecki] It has not countered it because it is difficult to counter a fact, a social phenomenon. But we never wanted to exploit this, we never wanted to stir up anti-German sentiments. On the contrary, we have never stopped talking about the necessity of reconciliation and cooperation.

[DIE ZEIT] Mr. Premier, it cannot be overlooked and it is to be regretted very much that the question of the western Polish border has played a role in the domestic struggle for votes in the FRG. Have the difficulties in the German-Polish relationship not also occasionally played a role in the struggle for power of Polish domestic policy?

[Mazowiecki] This was the case in the past, but not anymore. I would like to categorically reject the view that the government is playing with the German question, and I repeat again what I have also said in public: We are aware of the fact that the united Germany will be our neighbor. We want good cooperation.

One should not forget: The renewed discussions about the western Polish border started shortly after Chancellor Kohl's visit to Warsaw. At that time, in November, there were circles in the Polish public who criticized our joint statement. But our government has adhered to all points—for instance, concerning the question of the German minority. It would not be logical if we practically turned the opposite direction for domestic policy reasons within a very short time. And, in my view, there is also no proof and no indication for this in our policy. I think that such an accusation is completely unjustified. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that we worked under conditions in which there was a certain ambiguity in the statements of the West German side.

[DIE ZEIT] You spoke of the German-Polish statement of last November and said that the Polish Government has fulfilled all points. Does this also imply a certain disappointment—in the sense that Bonn has not fulfilled all points?

[Mazowiecki] No, I did not mean this. I would have only expected that such a short time after a joint statement, the problem, which is most important for us—the security of our borders, is expressed in a clear way, for instance in Chancellor Kohl's 10-point plan.

[DIE ZEIT] On the day on which the president's visit to Poland ends, the "two-plus-four" conference at the foreign ministers' level is to start. Originally, Poland wanted to participate directly in these negotiations. Now it will be included in those talks which deal with the border questions. What do you expect from this conference? A border guarantee—stated by Germany? A border guarantee—stated by the four powers? A border guarantee by the Germans, which is guaranteed by the four powers?

[Mazowiecki] From the very beginning we said that we wanted to participate directly in the conference—and we will participate directly in it. This means that we will not only be consulted, but we will participate directly. However, we also said from the very beginning that our participation cannot be identical with that of the two German states or that of the four powers, but will have a special character and will refer only to those matters which affect the security of our country.

We expect the conference to make stipulations for the final contractual settlement, and we hope that a form will be found in which this contractual settlement will also be affirmed, guaranteed, or noted—I do not want to commit myself to one term—by the four powers. This last question is still open and has to be discussed.

[DIE ZEIT] You just mentioned that Poland wants to have its security guaranteed at the "two-plus-four" conference. Which questions does this involve, in your view—in addition to the border question? Should disarmament and arms control in general not be negotiated at other conferences?

[Mazowiecki] I can answer this question only in very general terms because the answer depends on how and to what extent the united Germany will be integrated in the future Europe. This problem interests all Europeans and Germany's neighbors in particular.

But in our relations other problems are emerging in addition to the security policy questions—for instance, how our current economic cooperation with the GDR will be continued. Such questions, which are vital for us, must also be negotiated.

[DIE ZEIT] If Polish-German relations depend on the kind of integration of united Germany into the future Europe, does this mean that you want to link your security interests to the Warsaw Pact until a new all-European solution has been achieved? How long should the Soviet troops remain stationed on Polish territory?

[Mazowiecki] I think that the solution, which is obviously approached by all sides, is the plan presented by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher—expanded by those points which result from respecting the still necessary balance of powers in Europe. I know only one clear

public answer to the question: Margaret Thatcher's statement that the Soviet troops are expected to stay in the eastern part of Germany for a certain time in the future. Your West German politicians also say that they respect the balance of power and do not want to create unacceptable difficulties for the Soviet Union by touching it.

[DIE ZEIT] Will the Soviet troops in the GDR serve Soviet security or Polish security?

[Mazowiecki] I think that we all have to think seriously and as quickly as possible—not only in slogans but in the form of real projects—about how a new, collective security system is to be established in Europe. And we are waiting for this: After a certain transitional period, during which an agreement based on the balance of power can be reached, we will move forward toward a new collective security system in Europe, whose specific forms we do not know and cannot even clearly imagine, but whose working out we have to begin immediately. For instance, we believe that the Council for European Cooperation, which we have proposed, may establish the bases for this. In other words: There are different stages in the transition toward a new collective security system, and these stages are indispensable. Another solution would be difficult to accept for all those who will hold discussions within the framework of the conference.

[DIE ZEIT] The concept of the balance of power worked as long as one knew where the dividing line was. But this is no longer clear. Last Thursday [26 April], your Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski stated in his speech at the Sejm that Poland will use its troops—first—only to defend its own territory and—second—only on its own territory. With this, Poland leaves the concept of the bloc. This is almost a declaration of neutrality.

[Mazowiecki] Our foreign minister's answer points out that we use our Army as an independent, sovereign state: The power to use it lies in the hands of our government. But this does not mean that we do not recognize those links which result from the alliance, in which Poland is still a member. We do want to change the world in which we live, and we proceed, by the way, from the premise that the entire image of Europe should be changed. But this cannot be done from one day to the other.

[DIE ZEIT] In using such arguments, are you not guided more strongly by past experiences than by future goals, in contrast with your neighbors in Eastern Europe: the Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians? By adhering to the balance of powers, do you not imply the possibility of a collision, which is no longer imminent?

[Mazowiecki] Do you think of the statements or of reality? As regards reality, I do not think that you are right. First, we are no more inspired by past categories than others. Absolutely not. Moreover, it is important that we are trying to differentiate our words in such a way that they correspond to reality. Second, indeed, we are located in a central place in Europe. This has certain consequences.

[DIE ZEIT] Where do you see the danger today? Is the construction of the future not precisely the institutional safeguarding of a reconciliation which reaches from the Germans via the Poles to the Soviet Union?

[Mazowiecki] If you ask me where the danger lies today, I say: It lies in the collapse of the process, which is currently taking place and which might serve to build the future Europe—the future of common security. One can only approach this Europe step by step, by taking into consideration the demands of all parties involved, including the demand for the balance of power. If one suddenly ignored this demand and believed that one could jump into another international reality from one day to the next, this might lead to a collapse or a reversal of the process. I think that our Polish Government is acting on the basis of a vision of the future, but also with the idea of how one may reach it.

[DIE ZEIT] Is it not rather the case at the moment that the dangers to this process do not lie to the west, but rather to the east or north of Poland? That is, in a disorderly dissolution of the Soviet empire?

[Mazowiecki] If what you say is true, it is necessary to act in such a way that the process as a whole is not endangered.

[DIE ZEIT] We spoke of German unification. This unification is only part of a larger process—of the unification of Europe. Probably for the first time, the Polish nation has the chance to develop freely within a European context. How does Poland see its role in the new Europe? Which role does it want to play in this process? And might it not be possible that the united Germany could be a good bridge for the Poles on the path toward Europe?

[Mazowiecki] I assume that Poland is, and will be, an important actor in the new European policy. Because what does it mean when we stress so strongly reconciliation toward the East and the West as a premise of our policy? With this we want to turn the old theory of the two enemies into a theory of two friends.

This is equal to a change in our geopolitical location—in the sense of De Gaulle, who thought that geography could not be changed but geopolitics could be changed indeed. France, which has had conflicts with all its neighbors in the course of history, is no longer in a geopolitical conflict with them today. Thus, I see Poland in the Europe of the future without conflicts with its neighbors. Even though this will be a long historical process, we are guided by this premise.

If we proceed from this horizontal East-West line, we may also think about a vertical north-south line. But the vertical line will gain importance only if the horizontal line is regulated.

Of course, economic and cultural preconditions should correspond to these political preconditions for cooperation with neighbors and the other European states. In

this, I see Poland's most important principles for its role in Europe. In addition, there are our actions in domestic policy: We are consistently implementing our democratic changes and we are trying to preserve stability as a state. I think that, therefore, Poland is a factor—not only verbally but also in real terms—which participates in shaping the new image of Europe: consistent and stable.

[DIE ZEIT] How do you think the new conflict-free cooperation between Poland and the FRG could express itself in a symbolic way? What do you think of the proposal to form a German-Polish brigade on the model of the German-French brigade?

[Mazowiecki] This is a good example. However, I think we do not need symbolic gestures so much today as a solid basis for good cooperation, including the crucial spheres where we still have to find solutions. I would like to mention two completely different things.

New GDR Foreign Minister Meckel visited Warsaw recently. We have many common friends and acquaintances, mainly from Evangelical circles in the GDR, who have been trying to bring about German-Polish reconciliation for years. During a meeting, I told him how important these initiatives were. However, only a small group of people participated in these efforts, which had to be realized against the official policy of the former GDR Government. Now we should really get things going between the societies of our two countries. We have to make up for the time that was wasted during the period when officials spoke of friendship and cooperation, but during which nothing really happened. I think this is a very important task.

The second point I would like to mention is completely different. Germany—I am speaking of the FRG and the future united Germany—is a significant economic power in Europe. Its voice carries great weight in international economic bodies. As is known, debts will become a decisive problem for Poland in the very near future. The Germans could accommodate us in this difficult matter that is so vital for us, even more so because the FRG itself profited from the reduction of debts under the London Agreement, which facilitated its economic and political reforms at the time. We hope that everybody will understand that the success of political reforms in our country and elsewhere depends on Poland's economic reforms. With German help, we could seek a specific solution here. This would be extraordinarily important for us.

We are asking ourselves the following question: Are the Germans currently busy solving their own economic problems linked with the GDR or do they understand that a courageous solution must be found for Poland?

[DIE ZEIT] When you became the first noncommunist head of state in Eastern Europe as a result of the reform process last summer, the West promised initial material help. Have Polish expectations been met, or does Poland feel that it is being pushed to the background because of the German process of unification?

[Mazowiecki] I think we have no reason to complain. All agreements have been honored. However, we wonder whether the aid that we received is sufficient in view of what might be done.

[DIE ZEIT] German-Polish relations will also have an impact on the German minority in Poland. It has been granted the right to its own organizations and cultural activities under your government. However, many ethnic Germans are very bitter because for over 40 years they had no chance to speak about the injustice inflicted upon them, particularly after the end of the war. If the FRG and Polish press condemn them as die-hard reactionaries now, only the leagues of expellees will take care of them. Should we not reach a new understanding in Germany and in Poland on the basis of the whole truth, instead of repeating the old reproaches?

[Mazowiecki] I fully agree with you. We have to create a broad public consensus to overcome the past and to look to the future. A great deal can be achieved here through the activities of the Goethe Institute and other comparable institutions, for example. As far as the German minority is concerned, I saw recently on television that a German-Polish magazine is being published in Upper Silesia. It is important that people with a new attitude write for this magazine. One cannot force such things, but I hope that things will develop in this direction.

[DIE ZEIT] Neighbors in the East and West are looking to the courageous economic reforms that your government has introduced. Poland was the first country in the Warsaw Pact to initiate such a process. Now all of Europe is undergoing such democratic reforms, and the other nations have achieved more progress because they tackled the reforms later, which means that they had better starting positions because of the Polish example. What can the Poles do to ensure the quick success of the political reforms?

[Mazowiecki] I do not share your view at all that others have achieved more progress. Please give me a single example where we are lagging behind.

[DIE ZEIT] A parliament, for example, that has been formed after completely free elections....

[Mazowiecki] The Czechs and Slovaks do not have that either. I really do not see in what sphere others have overtaken us. Just be a little patient, we will also have free elections. By the way, the situation in parliament does not obstruct our reforms.

Local elections at the end of May will restore our leading position. The basis will be restructured then—something that has not been done in any other state. A few days ago, the Senate adopted the law on the reform of the Interior Ministry, which makes far-reaching changes possible in this area. Finally, I believe that there is a link between political and economic reforms—and in the economic sphere we have achieved more than any other country.

Thus, I do not believe that we are lagging behind. This is a very superficial impression. We have no inferiority complex here.

The most difficult task for us is to mobilize our society on a broad basis—particularly concerning economic initiatives, but also regarding political and social issues. There are no longer any legal barriers, but the situation is difficult. Maybe we are too impatient and want results too quickly. I do not want to be a prophet of doom, but it is conceivable that the countries that you mentioned will soon be facing the difficulties that we have already overcome.

[DIE ZEIT] Mr. prime minister, let me finally ask you a personal question. When did you first have to deal with Germans in your life, and in what way did this influence your later life?

[Mazowiecki] I started learning German as a young boy shortly before the outbreak of the war. I had to continue this later under different conditions, during the war and the occupation. Many members of my family—including my mother's brother and my elder brother—died in concentration camps. My brother died in Stutthof shortly before the end of the war. This certainly had an impact on my later life, but I have always been guided by the wise statement of Zofia Nalkowska: Human beings did this to human beings. It was not the Germans who did this to the Poles, but human beings to their fellow human beings.

[DIE ZEIT] Mr. prime minister, this shows the weight of your words when you speak about reconciliation.

[Mazowiecki] I am really convinced that reconciliation with the West and the East must be the basis of our policy. We will not be able to speak of a new Europe unless reconciliation with both sides is achieved. Otherwise, the new Europe will only comprise part of the continent whereas the other part would remain stuck in old historic conflicts. We—and I think Europe as well—are facing a great historic opportunity. I want to be among those who initiate this process. I consider it extremely important to advance this process.

More on Poll Favoring Mazowiecki Presidency

LD0405192890 Warsaw PAP in English 1209 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—In the opinion of Poles Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the best candidate for president, according to a poll completed by the government CBOS [Public Opinion Research Main Center] Centre on April 24, The results of which are published by the GAZETA WYBORCZA daily today. Excerpts:

"From among seven people, 24 percent of the polled pointed to Mazowiecki, 19 percent to Bronislaw Geremek. Wojciech Jaruzelski (16.6 percent) finished before Lech Walesa by half a percent (16.1 percent), 5 percent named Zbigniew Brzezinski and less than 2 percent Wladyslaw Baka and Tadeusz Fiszbach each. Compared with a poll from May 1989, Mazowiecki gained 22 points and Geremek 11 points, while Jaruzelski lost 2 points and Walesa 3 points.

"Walesa and Jaruzelski were relatively frequently indicated by people with primary education (27 percent and 29 percent respectively) and basic vocational (22 and 24 percent), less frequently with secondary education (17 and 16 percent) and higher (both 14 percent). Geremek's "electorate" is different: 16 percent with primary education, 22 percent with vocational, 33 percent with secondary and as much as 43 percent with higher education. Mazowiecki enjoys equal backing on all levels of education.

"Pupils and students firmly backed Mazowiecki (43 percent), much less Geremek and Jaruzelski (both 24 percent) and very rarely Walesa (10 percent).

"The Polish countryside pointed to Jaruzelski in the first place (29 percent), followed by Walesa (27 percent), Mazowiecki (26 percent), less frequently Geremek (18 percent) who was most favoured in big cities (31 percent). Mazowiecki is the private sector's candidate (39 percent) decisively less frequently Jaruzelski (25 percent), Geremek (19 percent) and Walesa (17 percent).

"All the age groups most strongly supported Mazowiecki. Apart from the 40-year-olds among whom he is equal with Geremek. Walesa has the strongest backing among 50-year-olds and older people. Jaruzelski enjoys equal support among all age groups.

"Seven percent more women than men would vote for Jaruzelski, while slightly more men would vote for Geremek and Walesa. This proportion is equal as goes for Mazowiecki.

"Nearly a half of the polled (46 percent) thought that the presidential elections should be held earlier. Advocates of early election most frequently pointed to Lech Walesa.

"Asked about Walesa's candidacy, 9 percent thought it 'a great idea,' 30 percent 'had nothing against it,' 35 percent thought this was 'somewhat going too far,' and 22 percent that it was 'totally unacceptable.'

"As much as 43 percent of the polled thought that elections to the Sejm should not be held earlier. There were 10 points less of those who thought the opposite."

Citizens Committee Conference Issues Appeal

AU0305120290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Our Preelection Appeal"]

[Excerpts] Representatives of citizens committees and deputy-senator bureaus from across the country arrived at the Sejm on 29 April for a final conference before the local government elections.

The conference consisted of two distinct parts: The speeches by Premier Mazowiecki and Marshal Stelmachowski and a working part, which was devoted to reports on the course of the election campaign.

The premier considered a victory in the elections, that is, the election of the best, to be a step toward what people would see as their own state.

Marshal Stelmachowski said that today's greatest foe was not communist rule (it has suffered a fatal blow), but apathy among citizens, disappointment, and a lack of confidence in the future, as well as the deals set up by local mafias and cliques.

According to the general commissioner for the elections, the election campaign is proceeding well. With the exception of a few eastern voivodships, lists of candidates have been finalized. About 60 political groupings are taking part in local elections nationwide.

The activists who spoke confirmed what the commissioner said. It seems that the main problems are a lack of funds and the poor assistance provided by Warsaw and the voivodships to smaller localities. Although about $4 million are needed for the township elections, only $676,000 are available.

A livelier debate started up on the subject of the future of the committees. Many of those taking part considered the committees' apolitical character to be of key importance. It was said that the value of the committees lies in their "Solidarity" identity, so political parties should not be drawn into them. The citizens movement should not provide an alternative to the parties that are being revived, but should assist them. This was reflected in the fact that not one vote was cast in favor of transforming the committees into political parties.

An appeal that calls on people to take part in the elections was adopted at the end of the conference. [passage omitted]

An Appeal to Voters

"Representatives of citizens committee from all over the country attending the conference on 29 April 1990 call on society to take part in the election campaign and the local government elections.

"We are deciding about the membership of local councils for the first time since the war. We are establishing genuine local government for the first time. For the first time, members of the these councils who receive a general mandate from their communities will be able to count on the participation of inhabitants in the difficult job of building local democracy.

"The participation of every one of us in these elections is a contribution to the building of an independent and democratic order in Poland"

The Conference of Citizens Committees and of Deputy-Senator Bureaus of the Citizens Parliamentary Club.

Protests Continue; Iliescu Agrees To Talks

Bucharest Demonstrators' 'Declaration'

AU0505180890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Apr 90 p 1

["Declaration of Bucharest Demonstrators" issued in Bucharest on 25 April]

[Text] The establishment of a communist regime in a given country in the world—no matter what continent—has taken place and has been maintained through crime and terror. Once established, the communist regime led to poverty, to the starvation of the people, and to genocide. Throughout its history—let us hope a short one—communism thus proved its antihumanitarian and destructive nature. As of 1946, Romania was and still is under a communist regime.

Therefore, we who are demonstrating today, 25 April 1990, in Bucharest desire and demand the following:

1. The placement of any communist-type party, like fascist parties, outside the law.

2. The removal of all those who were part of the Communist nomenklatura and of its repressive apparatus in the 1945-89 period from leadership positions.

3. The investigation of all people who belonged to the two aforementioned categories and bringing to trial those who are guilty of supporting the destructive regime in our country.

4. Agreement with and support of point 8 of the Timisoara Proclamation (that is, prohibiting people who belonged to the former nomenklatura and the Securitate from running in the election).

5. Ion Iliescu is the most guilty of causing the anticommunist revolution begun in December 1989 to depart from its nature.

We call on all Romanians to demonstrate against the totalitarian regime in our country on 1 May 1990.

The first of May 1990 represents the day of the collapse of communism and of dethroning the nomenklatura and the Securitate in Romania! So may the Lord help us!

Demonstrations in Bucharest, Provinces

AU0405184990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1653 GMT 4 May 90

["Political Life—Anti-communist Demonstrations in Bucharest and Elsewhere in the Country"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—The demonstration in Bucharest's University Square continues. Today, at 10:00 hours, local time, roughly 30 demonstrators were still in the square. Signatures in support of the Proclamation of Timisoara continue to be collcted nearby the Geography Faculty Building.

A demonstration initiated on Sunday by the local organizations of the "historical" parties, the magazines ASTRA, OPINIA and REPLICA, the Students' League, the Independent Trade Union and the "November 15" movement continues in the Council Square in Brasov. The demonstration, which gains scope in between 11:00 and 13:00, and 15:00 and 17:00 hours, local time, does not stop at night either. A group of contact of the National Alliance for the Proclamation of Timisoara was created during this demonstration.

Twenty-to-thirty young people, many of them equipped with blankets, matresses and back-packs, were in the Opera Square in Timisoara on Friday morning.

Iliescu Meets Timisoara Group

AU0405203090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 4 May 90

["Political Life—Demarches for Dialogue"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—Pursuant to the interview of Ion Caramitru, Mircea Dinescu, Dan Haulica and Andrei Plesu with Ion Iliescu, a dialogue was accepted between representatives of the organizations participant in the demonstration in the University Square in Bucharest and the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] President Ion Iliescu. The dialogue will start on May 8, 10:00 hrs.

On May 4 the PNUC president met with a group of representatives of the Timisoara Society.

The main purpose of the interview was to establish modalities for a starting a dialogue between the PNUC president and other officials of the council on the one hand and representatives of the National Alliance for the Timisoara Proclamation on the other hand. The collocutors assessed that conditions were in place for the beginning the soonest of a comprehensive dialogue in view of eliminating the political and social tensions emerged both in Bucharest and in provinces.

They decided to continue the dialogue.

[Paris AFP in English at 1930 GMT on 4 May notes that "late Thursday, the vice president of the National Salvation Front, Nicolae Dumitru, held a meeting with members of the 'Timisoara Group']

More on Meeting With Opposition

AU0505143290 Paris AFP in English 2354 GMT 4 May 90

[By Jacques Boyer]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, May 5 (AFP)—Giving way to grassroots pressure, Romania's president on Friday met with opponents of his interim administration who want former Communist officials barred from running in this month's election. Reversing a previous refusal to negotiate with organizers of street demonstrations calling for

his dismissal, President Ion Iliescu and several associates held three hours of preliminary talks with delegates of opposition movements.

Further talks were set for Tuesday, billed by Bucharest radio as the beginning of a "dialogue" with opponents who have been demonstrating in the capital for nearly two weeks. The negotiations come with Romania's elections scheduled in just over two weeks' time.

George Serban, a member of the opposition delegation in Friday's meeting, told Agence France-Presse that the talks helped open the way for negotiations that are to begin in earnest next week. Mr. Serban, a 35-year-old philosopher and founder of the Timisoara Society, a member of the fledgling Alliance for the Timisoara Declaration, said the opposition's aim had been to prepare a dialogue and described Friday's encounter as a "mutual test."

The eight-member opposition delegation did not call for elections to be moved back but, he said, had discussed the organization of the elections and the need to democratize Romanian society.

Tuesday's meeting, which will bring together Mr. Iliescu, representatives of the Bucharest opposition movement and a delegate from the Transylvanian city of Timisoara, is to discuss ways of ending the 13-day occupation of University Square in downtown Bucharest. A second meeting is expected to take place later in the week and will touch on the "fundamental demands" of the opposition which has recently united under the banner of the Alliance for the Timisoara Declaration.

The umbrella group, founded last week in Timisoara where the first popular uprisings against the former communist dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu began last December, gathers together most parties and opposition groups, including three traditional parties which had existed prior to the communist regime. Mr. Serban said the Alliance intended to pursue its drive for democracy whatever the results of the May 20 election.

The opposition has continued to demand the resignation of Mr. Iliescu, a former Communist Party official, and the withdrawal of his candidacy for president in the May 20 vote. [passage omitted]

Iliescu To Talk With Demonstrators

AU0505133890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Following talks conducted by Ion Caramitru, Mircea Dinescu, Dan Haulica, and Andrei Plesu with Mr. Ion Iliescu, Mr. Ion Caramitru, vice president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], yesterday took the necessary steps to initiate a dialogue between representatives of the organizations participating in the University Square demonstration and PNUC president, Mr. Ion Iliescu.

It was agreed that this dialogue will begin on Tuesday, 8 May, at 0700 GMT.

Dinca Ends Hunger Strike for Talks

AU0505161890 Paris AFP in English 1513 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, May 5 (AFP)—The initiator of the Romanian opposition's hunger strike, Dumitru Dinca, announced the end of his fast Saturday in order to "take part in the dialogue" offered by interim head of state Ion Iliescu. Mr. Dinca told Agence France-Presse that he was feeling too weak, but that if the protestors did not gain satisfaction at the proposed meeting Tuesday with Mr. Iliescu, he "would join the other hunger-strikers again". He said the 60 other hunger strikers were going on with their protest. But he said that "no compromise will be accepted in the dialogue". "Ion Iliescu must accept article eight of the Timisoara Declaration which bans former top officials of the RCP (Romanian Communist Party) from being candidates for the next three parliaments, and annul the decree making the television subject to presidential authority," Mr. Dinca said.

In its meeting with Mr. Iliescu, the opposition would also demand postponement of the general elections scheduled for May 20, the release of people arrested after the storming of government headquarters on February 18, and the resignation of the interior minister, he said.

Mr. Dinca, aged 40, began the hunger strike April 30, since when some 60 other people have joined in.

Iliescu Communique on Talks

AU0505204690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 5 May 90

[Communique issued by Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council]

[Text] As we approach the elections, the first free elections in Romania for more than half a century, one can note an isolated but persistent tendency toward artificially accentuating—obviously for narrow electoral aims—political tensions, tensions which are, up to a point, characteristic of the process of change generated by the revolution.

Challenges and emotional dialogue are natural and probably inevitable in these days and weeks, but nothing justifies attempts to harm the achievements of the revolution and jeopardize the democratic climate needed for exercising civic rights and freedoms. From this point of view, the demonstration in University Square does not contribute to the stabilization of public life because it disturbs the normal course of the days and nights of downtown Bucharest and—through its resonance—the normal situation in two or three other cities, thus causing dissatisfaction to a great number of citizens throughout the country.

However, of greater concern is the fact that attempts have thus been made to undemocratically substitute the people's freely expressed vote with the will and interests of a minority of groups by making use of street pressure, which is at variance not only with the adopted election law but also with the basic principles of the state of law for which we fought in the revolution. Despite this and despite the very broad public sentiment of disapproval of the demonstration, I think that under the current conditions no source of tension and animosity should be ignored, not even feelings of frustration stemming from youthful impatience rather than political reasoning.

Consequently, following the talks I conducted with Mr. Ion Caramitru, Mircea Dinescu, Dan Haulica, and Andrei Plesu, we agreed that on Tuesday, 8 May we should meet with the representatives of the organizations participating in the University Square demonstrations. At the same time, I met with representatives of the Timisoara Society. In connection with this meeting, I would like to emphasize the following:

1. I sincerely regret the use of the word hooligan in connection with those in University Square. The information available to me when I used this term was not flattering for some of the [word indistinct] organizers of the demonstrators and was incomplete with regard to the demonstrators on the whole. In any case, the term was and remains regrettable.

2. During the initiated dialogue I clearly explained that neither the date of the elections nor the provisions of the Election Law, on which the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] agreed unequivocally, are negotiable. The meeting on Tuesday must eliminate the political tension that has emerged in the center of Bucharest and must lead to the restoration of legality and order and the creation of a civilized climate that is absolutely necessary for the normal progress of the election campaign.

As far as I am concerned, it is obvious that after the dialogue on Tuesday there will be no legal motivation for continuation of the demonstration, the consequences of which are being felt in terms of traffic difficulties rather than political arguments.

3. During my visits to various counties throughout the country I noted that all people want this tension to end and want us to return to normalcy by observing the legal basis of the 20 May election, the Election Law, and the authority of the only institutions that exercise power in the state—the PNUC and the government in its jurisdiction. Any contesting of the Election Law and the authority of the PNUC will only lead to anarchy and chaos. We must be aware that only by carrying out the election campaign and the elections themselves under normal and secure conditions can we guarantee our country, for all of us, fulfillment of the aspirations for freedom and democracy.

We disassociate ourselves, without any doubt and shade of reticence, from any act that harms the climate we want to achieve these days, regardless of the political color of the person who perturbs it. Not the escalation of violence, but the struggle of ideas, confrontation between programs, and open, polemical, and civilized dialogue are a correct basis for a victory in the elections for those who are genuine representatives and truly capable of assuming the tremendous responsibility of being at the helm of the country.

We firmly appeal to all citizens of our country, regardless of their political convictions or opinions, to show under all circumstances linked with the election campaign a dignified and civilized attitude and to firmly reject any form of violence—oral or physical—on behalf of anyone against the persons, parties, or groups who voice their opinions and present their own programs. No to violence and intolerance. Let us guarantee the participation of all political groups in the election campaign in a climate unaffected by hatred and emotions. Let us judge the ideas, options, and programs and let us go to the polls in a calm and responsible manner.

Demonstrators Issue Communique

AU0605183490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] In connection with the demonstration that continues in University Square, our editorial staff has received the following communique:

Taking note of Mr. Ion Iliescu's communique broadcast by the mass media on 5 May 1990, the demonstrators in University Square inform the public that if the possibility of discussing certain of their demands is eliminated [word indistinct], the dialogue cannot take place. It is emphasized that they have never demanded that the date of the elections be questioned.

The demonstrators then express their hope that, in order to eliminate tension and to establish democracy, it will be understood that it is necessary to proceed to a realistic and unconditioned dialogue. At the same time, the demonstrators inform the country that the University Square demonstration has no election aims and is not directed against one or another of the political parties, but is against the (?perpetuation) of the practice of communist governing.

Signed by the 21 December Association, Bucharest; the Students' League; the Independent Group for Democracy; People's Alliance; and the 16-21 December Association.

Protests, Clashes in 4 Cities

AU0605134190 Paris AFP in English 1038 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, May 6 (AFP)—The National Liberal Party [NLP] announced Sunday that its presidential candidate, Radu Campeanu had been the victim of "an attack on his life" while campaigning as nationwide anti-government protests entered their third week.

The incident reportedly happened when the cinema where Mr. Campeanu was making a campaign speech in Braila, in eastern Romania, was besieged by a hostile crowd of supporters of the ruling National Salvation Front. He was hit by a "small, organised group of demonstrators" while leaving the premises through a back door as the army evacuated the premises, the NLP said in a statement.

A party source said he had broken off his electoral tour of the region and returned to Bucharest.

A turnout of over 10,000 people rallied on Saturday night in University Square, in central Bucharest, which has been occupied by anti-government demonstrators for the past 15 days.

Symbolic occupations were also reported in a dozen places across the country. Clashes between pro and anti-government demonstrators were reported from four cities, Sibiu and Ploesti in the centre, Galati in the east and Craiova in the south.

The protest movement is calling for the resignation of interim president Ion Iliescu, the Front's candidate in the elections on May 20, who is tainted by his links with the old hardline regime. They also want the elections put back to give the opposition longer to organise. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile the Cultural League for the Unity of Romanians Everywhere was on Sunday staging a series of demonstrations in the east of the country, on the border with the Soviet Union. The aim, organisers said, was to draw attention to the "aspiration for unity of Romanians in Soviet Moldavia separated from Romania since 1945."

Prime Minister Petre Roman had left to visit Moldavia on Sunday, but a spokesman was unable to confirm whether he would attend any of the organised events on the Soviet border.

The National Liberal Party said Mr. Campeanu would be taking part.

In Bucharest, Timisoara, Oradea, Deva

AU0605153590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 6 May 90

["Political Life: Anticommunist Demonstrations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—Participants in a marathon demonstration in Bucharest's University Square that has been going on for two weeks—who numbered several scores of independents Sunday morning—warn against the communist danger and demonstrate against the government, calling for the unity of the opposition in order to have their claims met until election day.

Outstanding among them are to amend the electoral law with point eight of the Proclamation of Timisoara and to cancel a decree issued by the provisional administration of the country on the Free Romanian Television which the demonstrators claim is "not free at all."

A week-long demonstration continued in Timisoara's Opera Square where there were several tens of protesters Sunday morning.

A meeting at Oradea of about one hundred demonstrators—residents of Oradea and of Timisoara—was called Sunday at 10.30 in support of the Proclamation of Timisoara. Eventually, a group hostile to the anticommunist demonstrators was formed, but the demonstration, which was authorized until 1.00 p.m., proceeded peacefully.

A demonstration in support of the National Alliance for the Proclamation of Timisoara took place at Deva the same day. The protesters—whose claims were the same—stated their solidarity with the demonstrators in Bucharest's University Square and Timisoara's Opera Square.

16-21 December Association Ends Protest

AU0605151590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1438 GMT 6 May 90

["Political Life: The 16-21 December Association Withdraws"—ROMPRES headlines]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—In a statement on Romanian television the "16-21 December" Association announced it withdrew from Bucharest's University Square demonstration. The decision was prompted by the attempts of leading members of the association to involve it in highly political aims, in violation of its non-political statute, which is the reason for their dismissal from offices.

Voican: Opposition 'Mercenaries, Paid Anarchists'

LD0405200190 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] It is still not time for dialogue in Romania. While demonstrations which are openly hostile to the interim president, Ion Iliescu, are increasing, Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican, the main with the white beard whom the whole world saw at the time of the trial of the Ceausescu couple, rejects any discussion with the opponents of the current regime, these protestors which the National Salvation Front calls the golans, in other words, hooligans. Serge Martin asked Gelu Voican if he approved of this term used a short time ago by Ion Iliescu. Listen to this reply, talking to our special correspondent in Bucharest:

[Begin Voican recording] I think that this is a rather mild word. Those people are professional protestors, mercenaries, paid anarchists, and, of course, people who have no work, a lot of bohemians gather around them. And now, lately, a lot of intellectuals, too, who want to get

some glory, to mark their solidarity with the opposition. It is organized provocation with the aim of drawing us into a trap of police repression of generating disorder which could serve as a pretext for not holding the elections, which they fear they are not [words indistinct] and they are not popular. [end recording]

Protests by Revolution Victims in Timisoara

AU0605174290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—Members of the 17 December Association of the revolution victims in Timisoara staged a march along the city's main thoroughfares Sunday. At noon, over one thousand demonstrators stopped before the county's Provisional National Unity Council Headquarters to protest the way the foreign humanitarian aid is distributed and the low quality of medical and social assistance.

The association's chairman told ROMPRES correspondent that their protest had nothing in common with the demonstration in Opera Square.

"We do not agree with the organizers of the Opera Square demonstration." "In this way, the generous ideas of the revolution of which we are victims start being altered."

Radu Campeanu Attacked on Campaign in Braila

AU0605135690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Yesterday Mr. Radu Campeanu, candidate of the National Liberal Party for the country's presidency, visited Braila County. In Braila, Mr. Radu Campeanu conducted talks with the members of the Braila County Provisional National Unity Council. In the hall of the Republica movie theater, the candidate of the National Liberal Party made a speech during which he made known his viewpoints on the election campaign and on his candidacy for Romania's presidency. There were also a number of incidents during the visit. Groups of citizens showed hostility toward Mr. Radu Campeanu.

Further on 'Hostility'

AU0605135890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] The ROMPRES news agency announces that Mr. Radu Campeanu, who was expected in Galati within the framework of his election tour, has (?canceled) this visit because of the hostility shown to him a day before in Braila, where he was carrying out his election campaign.

NLP Communique

AU0605140790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] We have received the following communique from the press bureau of the National Liberal Party [NLP]:

On Saturday, 5 May, an extremely serious incident happened in the city of Braila: There was an attempt on the life of Mr. Radu Campeanu, candidate for Romania's presidency. At the end of the election meeting, which proceeded normally, an organized group pounced upon Mr. Radu Campeanu and the people accompanying him. Despite the intervention of the police, Mr. Radu Campeanu and his aides were hit and stones were thrown at the automobile in which he was leaving, breaking its windows.

The communique mentions that Mr. Radu Campeanu was to participate today, 6 May, in a festivity termed "the flower bridge," during which hundreds of thousand of Romanians are meeting symbolically for the first time after half a century of separation. On this occasion, Mr. Radu Campeanu was to hand over a Romanian tricolor [Romanian flag] to the representatives of the Moldavian People's Front.

Campeanu on 'Assassination Attempt'

AU0605164790 Paris AFP in English 1545 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, May 6 (AFP)—Romania's main opposition presidential candidate, Radu Campeanu, said Sunday that an attempt was made on his life as nationwide anti-government protests entered their third week. Mr. Campeanu told AFP that he had been the victim of an "assassination attempt" while campaigning for the May 20 presidential and parliamentary elections. Violence is mounting as the elections approach, with a series of attacks against opposition leaders.

He told Agence France-Presse he was besieged by a hostile crowd of supporters of the ruling National Salvation Front while making a speech in a cinema in Braila, eastern Romania. A mob of 40 people armed with clubs, broken bottles and stones attacked him and a handful of his supporters as they left by a back door while the Army evacuated the premises, he said.

"I managed to get away but the car windows were smashed," he said. His aide Eugen Mailat [name as received] was injured in the eye as the attackers mistook him for the candidate, Mr. Campeanu said.

He said his party would propose to hold an emergency meeting with the other two main opposition parties, the National Peasants' Party and the Social Democratic Party, and the three groups might ask for the vote to be postponed or withdraw from the elections.

Anti-government demonstrators continued their occupation of University Square in central Bucharest on

Sunday, where some 60 people camped out on the lawns of the National Theatre are on hunger strike, some for more than a week. [passage omitted] Demonstrators have been occupying the central squares of 10 provincial towns for two weeks. On Sunday three people began a hunger strike in Cluj and Constanta. [passage omitted]

Mr. Campeanu, who has cut short his campaign tour of eastern Romania and returned to Bucharest, accused the government of failing to maintain law and order. "The government must shoulder its responsibilities," he said, adding that he would ask acting President Ion Iliescu to launch an investigation into the attack, which followed similar incidents in which other opposition figures were threatened or roughed up. [passage omitted] In one such incident, an opposition supporter was stabbed in Craiova. [passage omitted]

Government Communique on Election Campaign

AU0505212290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 5 May 90

[Communique issued by the Romanian Government in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] In conformity with the provisions of the Election Law, the election campaign was unleashed throughout the country on 19 March 1990. Within this framework, 213 meetings took place in counties and in Bucharest Municipality, as did 473 electoral gatherings. The organizers of these events—political parties and groups, candidates for the presidency or for a seat in parliament—presented their political options and platforms with which they will go to the elections.

The activities within the election campaign took place in a democratic atmosphere of calm, without unusual incidents. However, police records also show some blamable events which are at variance with the Election Law, that is, acts of violence and intimidation which slander and offend the political opponents, which were especially noted during meetings that were held without having the approval envisaged by law. There are also 105 cases in which election posters were damaged, party headquarters were violated, and some candidates were hampered from freely voicing their opinion.

The bodies of the Ministry of Interior took action to find and punish the guilty ones and thus 70 people were punished, of which 7 received penal punishments, while 63 were punished for lesser offenses.

Mass media, radio-television, newspapers, and other publications, whose total number amounts to 1011 at this time, with 41.4 million copies per edition, extensively cover the election campaign. Each political party and group has the chance to publicize its programs and political options through the press. Thus, up now, the representatives of 54 parties and 62 independent candidates benefited from 3,640 minutes on television free of charge. At the same time, special groups for broadcasting on the radio were organized to present the platforms and programs of political parties and groups and of independent candidates. Regular commentaries were also organized to publicize in detail legal provisions on the holding of the elections.

Electoral agendas were carried in all news broadcasts in accordance with events. These broadcasts and commentaries totaled more than 2,500 minutes.

During the period before 20 May, the government will continue to support the activity of organizing and holding elections in accordance with legal provisions by taking a completely neutral position and by guaranteeing equal opportunities for all political forces involved in the election campaign.

For this purpose, on 3 May a working meeting was held between the technical commission of the government for the organization of the elections and the representatives of political parties and groups. On this occasion, proposals were made on the activity of the political parties and groups in the election campaign and on government support for covering the necessary expenses and for ensuring conditions stipulated by the Election Law for carrying out election propaganda and the participation of the representatives of the political parties and groups in the election bureaus of all polling stations throughout the country.

At the same time, proposals were made on guarding election posters, polling stations, headquarters and figures of the political parties and groups involved in the election campaign. Similarly, the participation in the elections of Romanians residing abroad, but who will be in Romania during the elections, will be guaranteed.

The great majority of proposals made by the representatives of the political parties and groups were accepted and submitted to the Central Election Bureau for review.

Iliescu: 'Election Date Is Not Negotiable'

AU0605174090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1629 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—The election date and the Electoral Law cannot be negotiated because they are two provisions were endorsed by the Provisional National Unity Council with an overwhelming majority of votes. We must get beyond this period when things are provisional, uncertain and unpredictable, and embark on lawful constructive work for the prosperity of new Romania, said the National Salvation Front's [NSF] leader at an electoral rally Sunday at Rimnicu Vilcea that drew about one thousand residents of the city and its surroundings.

The NSF candidate for president's statement came in answer to calls launched by political parties and personalities, as well as by participants in recent demonstrations to postpone the elections until autumn to give the

opposition more time to prepare its election campaign which also claimed the mass media were "manipulated" by the government.

Saying he fully trusted the people's judgment, Mr. Iliescu said that the growing attacks and slanders on the NSF and himself had brought a growing "solidarity of the citizens" with his movement.

Iliescu Addresses Pitesti Electoral Meeting

AU0605141190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Yesterday afternoon Mr. Ion Iliescu, candidate of the National Salvation Front for the position of president of Romania, met with voters in Pitesti, Arges County.

In downtown Vasile Milea Square, tens of thousands of people attended a meeting supporting—through signs of friendship—Mr. Ion Iliescu's candidacy for the position of the country's president.

Taking the floor, Mr. Ion Iliescu outlined the main goals of the program-platform of the National Salvation Front.

More on Address

AU0605160990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1546 GMT 6 May 90

["Ion Iliescu: 'Let the Electorate Decide'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—This is the comment of the National Salvation Front's candidate for president on the controversial point eight of the Proclamation of Timisoara which bans former party activists and Securitate members from political life for the first three terms of the legislature.

As is known, the participants in a marathon demonstration in Bucharest's University Square—now in its 14th day—and in several other centres across the country among which Timisoara call for the Electoral Law to be amended with this point.

Speaking before more than one thousand citizens in the city of Pitesti Saturday afternoon, Ion Iliescu said that the elections would make the end of a first stage of the revolution during which, at the cost of great effort, stability in the country was maintained, the economy functioned and political life was restored to a certain extent. The elections must produce the first constituent assembly that will write the country's new democratic Constitution. For the time being, the Provisional National Unity Council is the only body in the state, the single law-making organ that voted for elections to be held on 20 May.

On the other hand, Ion Iliescu said he can only promise that if he won he would concentrate the human and material forces to set the economic and social life on the basis of the laws that rule the world market.

Iliescu To Dismantle Bureaucratic Structures

AU0605174490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1631 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/5/1990—The National Salvation Front's candidate for president attended a rally in the city of Tirgu Jiu, seat of Gorj County and home to the famed sculptor Constantin Brancusi's "Endless Column."

Speaking before several thousand supporters, Ion Iliescu said that 20 May "will bring a first stage of the Romanian revolution to an end," it will be followed "according to our realistic programme" by "the optimization of the economy" and "the dismantlement of all bureaucratic structures."

* Problems Facing Winner of May Elections

90BA0069B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Anton Uncu article: "The Risk of Winning the Power"]

[Text] Ever since February, the struggle for power has assumed harsh, even violent aspects, and tempers are far from cooling down. However, winning power in the 20 May elections involves certain not at all negligible risks, which the main parties in the contest seem to ignore.

Any attentive observer will note that Romania's economy is in decline, a decline that in all probability will worsen in the coming two years in view of the marked lack of organization, shortage of raw materials, and the physical and moral deterioration of technologies, to which one must add the precarious situation of the agriculture in the absence of appropriate organizational and legislative measures concerning ownership.

Under the pressure of popular demand, the National Salvation Front [NSF], and later the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] granted pay raises and reduced the working day and week, although there was not the least economic justification for such measures. Currently, the volume of money in circulation is several billions lei greater per month than in the same period of 1989, while the total volume of the production achieved in economic activities has considerably dropped. Clearly, these are the points of departure for inflation and unemployment. We will not now go into details because this is not meant to be an economic analysis, but a political one. Thus, if the effects of the above measures are not yet felt—although the first signs are already emerging—in the coming two years the state of the economy will deteriorate against the background of attempts at privatization and a market economy, while inflation and unemployment will reach dramatic proportions. Let us not fool ourselves: Trying for privatization and market economy before the problems are resolved will only make matters worse before making them better. However, we are obligated to assume this risk in order to be able to make progress.

Romanians are looking forward to free elections as if to a miracle, or as if to salvation. As we said, the political parties are engaged in a fierce battle for power, in a very Balkan style, passionate and often aggressive, each one of them being convinced that the prize—winning the election—is worth all the effort. Except that none of the parties, however well meaning or willing to do so, can redress Romania's economy within two years. I don't think there can be any dispute on this point. Thus, once in power, whichever party is the winner will find itself in the uncomfortable position of not being able to resolve the economic problems and confronted by inflation, unemployment, and undoubtedly, workers' strikes. Within two years the respective party will manage to compromise itself sufficiently to be put out of the race for a lengthy period of time.

At present, the best placed in the struggle for power seems to be the NSF. Congratulations! In this case, its adversaries need do nothing but tread water, allow the Front to win, and wait quietly for two years, by which time, bar a miracle, the party in power will democratically lose the elections.

It would seem, however, that this danger has been perceived by some, as has been evident in the declarations of some Front leaders. I will cite Mr. Ion Iliescu, who stated that, "Regardless of the results of the elections, the government will be a coalition government." On the other hand, the major traditional parties are also attempting to form a coalition to provide a viable alternative to the NSF, but in both cases the wager is winning the elections.

Clearly, whoever wins the 20 May elections will be assuming an almost insurmountable challenge: redressing the economy within an extremely short period of time. And should it fail...

There is also the alternative of a broad coalition incorporating the opposition. In translation, this means, if we are to fail, let us all fail together.

All very well, but what are we to do about the RCP [Romanian Communist Party]? Because for the time being it has neither dissolved itself, nor has it been outlawed, which leaves it in a state of semi-legality, which is politically very comfortable and profitable. Is it out of the question that after two years of economic hardship, unemployment, inflation, etc., the electorate may begin to make comparisons? And is it out of the question that a Marxist party, a communist party freshly made up with democratic slogans and criticizing—too justly, people will say—the impotence of the party or coalition in power to redress the economy, should lay claim to the country's leadership?

Who wants to assume the risk of winning the elections?

NSF Charged With 'Falsifying' Elections

90BA0065A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 12 Apr 90 pp 1,2

[Cristian Tiberiu Popescu article: "Fraud in the Elections?"]

[Text] Normally, in some other part of the world, this question would be superfluous. Unfortunately, however, in Romania, tampering with elections as a method came into being when Romania's wishes were violated in November 1946, and remained in action for 45 years.

And now? The configuration is about the same: Veteran RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members are the pillars of the NSF [National Salvation Front], a greatly homogenous group, although (for the time being) it also incorporates some other figures for the sake of appearances. They are the same "solid characters" of the RCP—activists tested in tough struggles, experienced in all the machinations expected, especially those of Communist behind-the-scenes maneuvers. These are the people who resisted Constantin Pirvulescu's tempting siren's songs at the 12th Congress, stubbornly and unwaveringly continuing to steer their boat. There are, however, some "naive" people around who still seem to believe that the NSF is not the RCP, that these "ex's" are no longer Communists, meaning that they are not and will not lead the country away from Communist positions after the elections, if God helps them win. All that was still needed was for Mr. Iliescu to make some order in the thinking of these "naives," something that he did not wait too long to do: Mr. Iliescu is a Communist and he admits it, that's true; but only when the question is directly asked. When the NSF boss (because he is the leader of the NSF) clearly declares himself a Communist and so many other "big brass" in the leadership act like "fair" comrades, is there still room for doubt as to the nature of the NSF?

That may be, say some of the "naives," but whether they are Communists or not, who says they are going to tamper with the elections?! The suspicion—a word that Mr. Iliescu thoroughly dislikes—is justified, because on 28-29 January, the NSF did something that can be classified in the same category as falsifying elections. Let us recall a historical fact: On 8 November 1945, the Peasant and Liberal Parties organized a large anti-governmental demonstration (the Petru Groza government had been imposed since 6 March). The Communists and their acolytes called on the workers, telling them that those parties wanted to sell out the country, and strategically placed among them "agitators" with clubs, so that in the end we had a counterdemonstration of such magnitude that the Communists even used fire arms. Now you recognize the scenario? The NSF is the heir of the RCP not only by way of membership and ideology, but also by the methods it uses. 8 November 1945—28 January 1990. Sad, but true, and revealing at the same time. From 29 January in Bucharest to 20 March in Timisoara there was only one step.

The NSF has proven that it will not stop at anything—including immoral actions—to maintain the power in its hands. If it manages to tamper with the elections, it is possible that some Mr. X—"Another Mazilu"—horrified by the crime in which he was on the verge of participating, may make disclosures concerning the fraud. In such a case, Mr. Cazimir Ionescu will take him to task and will ask him to answer whether anyone made the step from talking to doing something; in other words, will Mr. Cazimir Ionescu suggest: We talked, true, but we certainly didn't do any such thing! (It would have been too embarrassing.) Then Mr. Petre Roman will step in with his famous talent for persuasion, and just as it happened in Parliament when the "Mazilu case" was discussed, and at the NSF 28 and 29 January counterdemonstrations, he will say: "It was not you, Mr. X, who was against tampering with the elections; only one man did so, Mr. Y. Isn't it true, Mr. Y., that you were the only one against it?" "True," will say Mr. Y. And finally, Mr. Iliescu will take the floor (having kindly invited himself to speak) and will say: "He's lying, my dear, there was absolutely no question..."

When I said before that, given half a chance, the NSF will falsify the elections, I was referring to the mechanical operation of substituting fabricated results to the real ones. In fact, the NSF has already begun to tamper with the elections by manipulating people's minds. Along this line, the organization of counterdemonstrations on 28 and 29 January was planned as a display of force and even of violence, having been the outcome of previous indoctrination and of abusive, perverse, and tendentious manipulation of minds. This was the first example of moral falsification of the elections.

The second example of moral falsification of the elections is the fact that the NSF is grabbing every opportunity to present itself as an "emanation" of the Revolution, meaning that the Front was empowered by the Revolution, while the other parties were not.

Moreover, the press has brought up several serious cases proving that the NSF has been busy extracting signatures of support through bribery or threats. This can be used now, too, but it is undoubtedly kept in reserve for later use. That was a third example of moral falsification of the elections, as well as a proof that the NSF intends to actually falsify the results of the 20 May election. At that time, the NSF will handle people's surprise by showing them their lists of supporters and claiming that they were fully in accord with the results of the election, since people had shown their support for the NSF even earlier!

But the problem that the NSF will have to deal with is that an increasing number of people, slowly but steadily leaving the 23 million of Brucan-type fools, are recognizing the heritage of the Communist methods in the Front's propaganda. And, if 45 years ago, the slogan was: "Ana, Luca, and Dej put fear in the bourgeois," all that is left now in the attempt to reinstate that system, is to hear on the eve of the elections: "Ion, Petre, and Brucan have toppled the tyrant," or, with last minute conviction: "Ion, Brucan, and Petre are not afraid of the parties." Or are they?

* NSF Preoccupation With Europe Scored

90BA0065E Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Apr 90 p 3

[Roxana Iordache article: "The Front of European Salvation!"]

[Text] In the evening of 19 April we were able to view at leisure Prime Minister Petre Roman's interview on television, which took only 60 minutes. Among other things, the public had an opportunity to note that Mr. Silviu Brucan was nevertheless right when he said that we are a "stupid people." Not counting the children, preadolescents, and backward-looking old people, there are about 10-15 million idiots among us. Because one has to be an idiot not to remember that the Front never promised that it will not run for election, nor that it will not be a candidate, nor that it is a provisional group or movement which, wanting to help the country, offered to fill the "power vacuum" until the elections, nor did it promise that the Romanian people are fed up with so much power and will have only a just and representative leadership, with which they can have a continuous and honorable dialogue as among adults, not as between all-powerful father and stupid child. In point of fact, the Front didn't promise anything other than the promise not to promise anything but promises. That is, until the elections, the path to which it was preparing in order to permit pluralism. Not a plurality of parties, because that never came into question, because ever since December we, the idiots, knew from experience that a plurality of parties was outdated and that the political party—a narrow group of interests without horizons—was no longer in vogue in any civilized country.

We remembered all of that while respectfully listening to our prime minister, who smiled and sometimes even laughed, but only when he was calling the shots; and he smiled all the time. We remembered all that and we slapped our forehead, thinking: "Lord, but we are stupid!" That revelation has become a matter of fact since 23 December. How stupid could we have been not to realize how important personal charm is in politics. That is precisely what we should have realized. We should have. But we were stupid. Nevertheless, we can still smarten up. We have every chance for that because, further listening to Mr. Petre Roman, we suddenly saw more clearly, our eyes opened wide, our hearts rejoiced, and our ideological appetite was aroused. And we thought: Good God, how stupid of us not to have realized until now what can lie in store for us if we vote for the National Salvation Front [NSF]. And God, how stupid of us not to have realized from the beginning—in between explosives, terror, and shots, and later in between all the parties that mushroomed out of nowhere—what we did to the country's future when we desperately begged the Front not to abandon us, but to

become a candidate and save us! What we did was of such magnitude that we could become dizzy to not have realized from the beginning. What idiots, more so since some of us later began to demonstrate against the Front! But there is no doubt that after 19 April none of us will ever again be as stupid as to demonstrate, since the prime minister has opened our eyes. He has finally rallied us to a consensus. He has made us understand, as well as we can, why the Front says Front and why it is such a savior. For the country! And for the Common European Home.

Which, thanks to the NSF, has every chance in the near future to change its name into the Romanian Confederation. Without violence, of course. Solely through ideology. That is Europe's only chance of salvation and progress. It must once and for all forsake the ways of rotten and abject capitalism, the corrupt parties, and parliamentary debates and disputes. How? Very simple! By adopting the NSF's platform-program! Why did we idiots not realize from the beginning what was in store for us. Finally illuminated and having miraculously become a smart people instead of the idiots we were, we said to ourselves: Now we're cooking! We shall all of us express our support, contaminated by the revolutionary elan of our prime minister, who went as far as to talk about ideological imperialism. And logically, we were quite happy about the new things we had learned. More winning than ever, the prime minister informed us—the key of electoral success—that "we want to impose our program on Europe." The NSF as the Front of European Salvation. If not world salvation. Consequently, just so the world won't laugh at us for not being able to implement our projects for the future, we condescendingly conceded that we can invite foreign observers so as not to deprive them of a chance to learn; they will be among the lucky few to line up to come to Romania and to learn from us how a united and realistically democratic Europe will look like: It will be realistic, i.e., of NSF coloring. As a mark of gratitude, the French will bring champagne, the Swiss banks (or benches), the British diplomacy, the Germans technology, the Dutch tulips, the Spanish sand castles, and the Russians democracy. All that and more in exchange for a rose, presented by Mr. Petre Roman in the form of the Front of Euro-Romanian Salvation.

Learning and dreaming of all that, we all relaxed, ceased our opposition, rejoiced, congratulated ourselves, and agreed that everything was wonderful; and if we had any time left, we shed a tear for the blood shed, and then we laughed. We laughed to the point of crying. Mr. prime minister had contaminated us with his enviable technique. And we said to ourselves, Lord, what a pity that we didn't realize this from the beginning. We laughed at our stupidity, and we may still be laughing. Vivat, Crescat, Floreat [Latin for May it live, grow, and blossom], the Pink Rose, the emblem of Europe!

* Establishment of Romania Foundation Scored

90BA0069A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 13 Apr 90 p 1

[Ilie Paunescu article: "Reorganization of the Propaganda Network in the West"]

[Text] The government has issued a decision on the establishment of the Romania Foundation. The foundation will replace the Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Romania Association, the sponsor of a propaganda publication for Romanians abroad, TRIBUNA ROMANIEI. According to the decision, the Romania Foundation will publish magazines and "other specialized publications," and its hard currency expenses will be covered by an immediate ammendment to the 1990 state plan and budget.

Thus, another parasitic ceausescu [lower case, as published] structure is taken over under a slightly new name, but with identical methods and objectives. There is no doubt that the new "foundation" will fail, just like the old "association." In today's world, propaganda for a communist regime just doesn't work. All one can accomplish is to waste hard currency for the benefit of some people, long accustomed to benefit by that budget chapter.

At the beginning of the cold war, the considerable amounts of money pumped to the West by Eastern propaganda agencies really gave results. But after the Soviet Union was defeated in the cold war, the entire propaganda edifice fell into ruins. It is obviously naive to hope that renewed efforts to capture goodwill, including the goodwill of available Romanian consciences in exile, may earn the NSF [National Salvation Front] greater profits than the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] reaped.

The reasons are well known.

On the one hand, the current Romanian Government has a deplorable reputation abroad. The Western press is almost unanimously of the opinion that Mr. Ion Iliescu's government has confiscated the Romanian Revolution. Only the government itself can change this opinion, through its policy, not through propaganda.

In point of fact, considering a second aspect, on what propagandists can this government count in the West? On a handful of mediocre elements, despised by professionals in the country and ridiculed by opinion shapers abroad. I don't know of even one talented person among them, even one who has the ear of any Western newspaper or agency.

And finally, there is the third aspect: What chances does a talented adventurer have of influencing public opinion and governmental policies in the West? Gabriel Garcia Marquez, a writer celebrated throughout the world, winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, has for years been "Fidel Castro's whore," to borrow the expression used at the latest general meeting of the Pen Club by Mario Vargas Llosa. All of Garcia Marquez's endeavors

and all his talent at the service of the Cuban dictator have been to no avail. The more the writer intensified his efforts, the lower the tyrant's reputation fell.

It is difficult to believe that the current leaders of Romanian communism ignore these realities. Mr. Ion Iliescu is not the man to comfort himself with illusions.

So?

If the government is wasting its time on founding yet another bankrupt firm, a pseudo-cultural one this time, the explanation seems to be very pedestrian. The NSF's electoral customers consist mainly of the large number of parasites created and maintained by communism: activists, securitate members, hoarders of and profiteers with vital goods, drones and incompetent people placed at the head of the table. The hard currency spenders staffing so-called cultural institutions, magazines, and "specialized publications" in the area of propaganda abroad belong to the same category of electoral customers. Attentive as it is to the smallest detail, the government apparently cannot afford to give up even the relatively small number of votes they can provide.

* Comment on Congress of Hungarians in Romania

90BA0072A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 24 Apr 90 p 2

[Ion Pavelescu telephone dispatch from Oradea: "Loyalty to the National State"]

[Text] The first congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [MDUR], held yesterday in Oradea, was described by the organizers themselves as a historic event. Indeed, the congress presented several features that made it deserve that description, beginning with the events that made it possible, in conditions that could not have been imagined only five to six months ago. Speaking of that forum and its significance, it is impossible not to highlight one of the fundamental changes brought about by the Revolution of December 1989 which, having ended the political monopoly of a single party, provided the climate necessary for various categories of citizens to be able to participate in dealing with the complex problems we are facing.

Within this broad and truly democratic framework, the national minorities, with their legitimate aspirations and specific concerns, are called upon to play an important role and in many respects a decisive one for the present and especially for the future that we want to build. In this context, the congress held in Oradea can be described as an indication, and at the same time as a barometer of the mood of Romanian society, of its hopes and cares, and not to a lesser degree, of the dangers threatening it. The congress began with a short procedural moment, which reflected a certain tension amidst the Union itself and certainly among its leadership. Some people wanted the congress to be held in plenum and in special commissions, while others wanted it only in plenum, so that everyone could hear what was said and decided. Some sort of compromise was reached in the end, but the fact did not go unnoticed, more so since the move against certain rules reminiscent of the "practices of the past" was suggested by an uncontested leader, Karol Kiraly.

During the debates, the floor was taken by Mr. Geza Domokos, acting chairman of the MDUR. His was a well-balanced document, based on realities and advancing concepts designed to elicit a powerful and definitely positive response among the Romanian and international public opinion. These were its major ideas, as they were formulated, demonstrating the realistic orientation of the MDUR:

—Our native land, Transylvania, is an integral part of the Romanian state, as was sanctioned in the Trianon Treaty and later in the Treaty of Paris;

—As we have clearly stated on several occasions, the question of where Transylvania belongs is not up for discussion. This is not a matter of tactics for us, but the gauge of our political clear-sightedness, stemming from our conviction that the relationship between this ethnic group and the majority nationality must be based on sound and historically confirmed principles, and that the core of this relationship can be none other than the loyalty of the Hungarian minority of Romania to the national state, a principle that from the very beginning excludes our support for concepts that affect the national integrity and sovereignty.

Noting with satisfaction these views, which fully comply with the natural rights of the Romanian people to unity and sovereignty, we fully endorse the view expressed in the report that is of a basic value and has many ramifications for social-political practices. "It is obvious," the report stated, "that we must avoid any attempt to present our platform and demands as incompatible with civic loyalty and with our obligation to fulfill our duties as citizens of Romania, not to mention demands that present it as dangerous to the integrity and interests of the Romanian people." No good Romanian can stoop to such accusations. In point of fact, even the Declaration adopted on 1 December 1918 clearly stipulated the broadest rights for the minorities, and it was good that the congress mentioned that act, which represents the essence of the Romanian social-political doctrine, which is the origin of its universal authority. We would have been well advised to cite the ever topical words spoken on the day of our great unification by one of the founders of that event, meant to last forever, words which it is our duty to recall: "We do not wish to become from being oppressed, oppressors." That was and remains our position.

To tell the entire truth, we could not swear that everything that we heard at the congress made us jump up with joy. Mr. Laszlo Tokes, for example, after clumsily trying to justify certain viewpoints expressed abroad, launched a rather cutting attack against the Vatra Romaneasca Union, claiming that he felt threatened and

requesting protection from certain foreign representatives who were attending as guests. As a priest, he should have known even better than us that the only manner to remain above any suspicion is to follow the biblical precept which urges every man to adopt restraint and moderation: "Lord, guard my tongue..." That is, when the tongue shows a tendency to speak out of turn. There were other undesirable statements, too, but we choose to ignore them.

Before concluding these remarks we think we should repeat the metaphor used by one of the speakers. He declared himself optimistic about the capability of the fir tree to grow and to remain perpetually green in the vicinity of the proud Carpathian oak. We can extend the comparison somewhat by recalling Eminescu's eternal verse: "A venerated emperor is the forest..." In its universe there is room enough for everyone. But abandoning the figurative language and going back to the literal and political one, we must note that we can all live best in understanding this blessed country.

More Ceausescu Associates To Go on Trial 7 May

AU0405194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1744 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/5/1990—[Ion] Coman, Pacoste Cornel, Ilie Matei and Balan Radu will go on trial Monday 7 May at the Military Department of the Higher Court of Justice on charges of genocide for their part in the organization and coordination of the bloody reprisal on the December 1989 popular revolution in Timisoara. The cases of these former high-ranking party members is connected to that of another 21 defendants who were first brought in court for their role in the violent suppression of the revolution in Timisoara on 2 March and whose trial continues.

Renewal of Diplomatic Ties With Israel Pursued

LD0405143490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1248 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, May 4 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav government is determined to complete the process of normalizing relations with Israel by renewing full diplomatic relations, and this is also the determination of the Israeli government. This is the main conclusion at direct Israel-Yugoslav diplomatic contacts which have opened in Jerusalem.

In the contacts, which are to continue, the two governments will also set the date for the renewal of these relations.

Yugoslav government representative, Ambassador in the Foreign Ministry Milan Zupan, who arrived here three days ago, explained in detail some dilemmas regarding the severing of diplomatic relations to his hosts.

Zupan is the first representative of the Yugoslav government to visit Israel since 1967, when official Belgrade severed diplomatic relations with Israel.

If there were some reservations here regarding Yugoslavia's stand at the beginning of Zupan's visit, the talks have removed them. The Israeli Foreign Ministry now has a much clearer picture about Yugoslavia's stand regarding the question of the renewal of diplomatic relations.

Zupan's visit to Israel was a step forward in political relations between the two countries. Yugoslav and Israeli diplomatists have had occasional contacts since 1967, but never in the territories of Yugoslavia or Israel, but mostly in the United Nations headquarters in New York.

In Zupan's talks with Israeli representatives, it was stated with pleasure that many forms of cooperation are already being developed, from cultural to economic. This cooperation clearly shows that the process of normalization has begun.

Talks Held With Japan's Foreign Minister

OW0405142890 Tokyo KYODO in English 1321 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 4 KYODO—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and his Yugoslav counterpart Budimir Loncar on Friday agreed to start negotiations on as investment protection agreement with Yugoslavia and to hold vice-ministerial bilateral consultations on a regular basis.

In pledging to actively promote technological cooperation to help Yugoslavia's economic reforms, Nakayama also told Loncar that Japan plans to receive 20 technology trainees from Yugoslavia this year and, if requested, will dispatch specialists.

Loncar, in the three hour meeting with Nakayama, requested loans from Japan's Export-Import Bank for the development of small-and medium-sized enterprises. Nakayama promised to study the request.

When Nakayama asked him about the Nonaligned Movement, Loncar said the goals of the movement, of which Yugoslavia is a member, have been partially achieved now that disarmament is progressing.

Loncar added that a summit meeting between industrialized nations of the northern hemisphere and developing nations of the southern hemisphere would further facilitate realization of the goals of the Nonaligned Movement, namely coexistence, disarmament, and the disbanding of military blocks.

Meanwhile, Nakayama said here earlier in the day that he plans to visit the United States in early June for a briefing on U.S.-Soviet summit talks slated to start in Washington in late May.

Drnovsek Meets Nakayama

LD0405185990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—In the White Palace, today SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek received Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Taro Nakayama and his associates, who are on an official visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

The main topic of the talks was the promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the area of finance and investment, professional training of cadres in the economy, and so on. Views were exchanged on current trends in Europe, the processes of integration of the West European states, and the democratic transformation in East European countries.

The Japanese minister highly assessed Yugoslavia's efforts and the results achieved in realizing economic and political reform. The guest also very positively assessed Yugoslavia's efforts as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement. Minister Nakayama extended an invitation to the SFRY Presidency president to attend the coronation of the emperor of Japan this fall. The talks were also attended by Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar.

Report on Nakayama Talks

LD0405192690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—The changes that unfolded in Europe in less than a year brought about new interdependence between European countries, which is not based on the balance of power and fear. The picture of Europe is very different now. The time of a new interdependence is coming, during which mutual values should be set. They should be peace, independence for everyone, and common economic prosperity, Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar said in the

course of today's final talks in Belgrade with Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

Loncar called the new state of affairs in Europe the new European architecture, in which human liberties, cultural interests, and protection of environment are becoming prominent. Global economy will become the only existing economy in Europe. The CSCE is becoming the foundation and roof of the new European architecture, Loncar said.

The Japanese foreign minister expressed his country's special interests in the processes of European integration. He paid special attention to the new situation in the sphere of collective security on the European continent. He said that the changes in Europe influence the situation in Asia, and that Asian countries would want to set up a CSCE-like form of cooperation on their continent.

Today's talks finalized the framework of future bilateral cooperation between the two countries, especially in the economic field. The two ministers summarized the program of Yugoslav-Japanese cooperation in 15 points, and in doing so, formed the skeleton of new relations.

Budimir Loncar and Tara Nakayama agreed that cooperation between the two countries should continue at ministerial level; that Japan should send experts to Yugoslavia to assist in the restructuring of the Yugoslav economy; that the number of Yugoslav experts studying in Japan should be increased; that cultural cooperation should be continued; and that tourist cooperation should be increased. Japan promised to help Yugoslavia within the framework of international financial institutions such as the IMF, the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Paris Club, and the Group of 24.

Separate talks between the Japanese foreign minister and SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek, held today, noted that economic relations between Yugoslavia and Japan lag behind political relations. Janez Drnovsek said that now, after the reforms have been implemented, the situation in Yugoslavia is very favorable, and he urged greater cooperation between Yugoslav banking institutions and a more active participation of Japanese capital in the new phase of Yugoslav economic changes.

Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic expressed his conviction that the Yugoslav economy is ready for active cooperation with Japan. He proposed setting up joint ventures and banks and greater investment of Japanese capital in concrete Yugoslav projects. He pointed out that Yugoslav ports in the Adriatic and the free-customs zone in Belgrade provide good opportunities for the placement of Japanese goods in Europe.

This afternoon the Japanese foreign minister left for Dubrovnik, where today and tomorrow he will have talks with Socialist Republic of Croatia representatives about possibilities for increasing the number of Japanese tourists. Taro Nakayama ends his visit to Yugoslavia tomorrow. From Dubrovnik he is flying to Japan.

Nakayama Departs Dubrovnik

LD0505193690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Dubrovnik, 5 May (TANJUG)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama left Yugoslavia for Japan this afternoon.

At Dubrovnik's Cilipi airport, the chief Japanese diplomat—who paid a three-day official visit to Yugoslavia—was seen off by Branko Lukovac, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Dubrovnik Municipal Assembly President Tomislav Milkovic.

Minister Taro Nakayama toured Dubrovnik's cultural and historical sights today.

Group Protests U.S. Congressmen's Attitude

LD0505132690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Skoplje, 5 May (TANJUG)—Convinced that we are expressing the opinion and indignation of millions of SFRY citizens caused by the recent attacks on our country in the U.S. Congress, we call on the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the republican Secretariat for Foreign Relations for an appropriate reaction and condemnation of the unfitting attitude of a group of U.S. congressmen, says a protest sent today to these competent state bodies by the initiative committee for founding the Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia. A group of U.S. congressmen, it further says, under the guise of concern for human rights in our country, has turned into its open enemies.

It is also disgusting that recently submitted proposals by this group of U.S. congressmen recommend further pressure on Yugoslavia and assume the right to ignore part of the official title of the SFRY, the protest letter says in conclusion.

Loan Agreements Signed With World Bank

LD0505101890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0920 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Washington, May 5 (TANJUG)—World Bank President Barber Conable said in Washington last night [4 May] he was convinced that the government of Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic would be able to surmount the difficulties stemming from the Yugoslav economic reform programme and would see the programme to the end.

Conable made the statement at a ceremony of signing the Sal-2 agreement, under which it recently granted Yugoslavia a credit of 400 million dollars.

The Sal-2 credit for the restructuring of the Yugoslav economy has been granted for a period of 15 years, with a five-year grace period and at a variable interest rate.

which at present amounts to 7.75 percent. The first installment of 150 million dollars can be used immediately.

Conable said that Yugoslavia might get fresh credits, such as a credit for environmental protection within the World Bank's Mediterranean project.

Yugoslav Finance Secretary Branimir Zekan, who signed the agreement on the guarantee of the Yugoslav Federal State, stressed that the importance of Sal-2 does not lie only in the amount of the credit, but also in the World bank's admission of the quality of the Yugoslav Government's reform programme.

Zekan recalled that this was the largest single loan obtained by Yugoslavia from the World bank and that its approval was a turning point in mutual relations.

According to Zekan, the World Bank's loans to Yugoslavia this year might total one billion dollars. Yugoslavia expects the World bank to grant it financial Sal loans, a loan for developing the road network on which talks have been successfully completed and loans for restructuring the existing and developing small and medium-sized enterprises.

On behalf of Premier Ante Markovic, Zekan reiterated the invitation to Barber Conable to visit Yugoslavia.

Bulgarians Want Ban on Macedonian Organization

AU0405204090 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 90 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Demand for a Ban on 'Ilinden'"]

[Text] Sofia, 27 April—The Association of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Societies in Bulgaria, which is a greater Bulgarian organization mainly comprising the descendants of immigrants from Vardar Macedonia, has accused the independent Macedonian organization "Ilinden" of serving the interests of a foreign state, that is to say Yugoslavia, and demanded that its activities be banned.

This association, which has pronounced greater Bulgarian programmatic aims, claims that "the anti-Bulgarian activity of Ilinden is planned in Skopje and Belgrade" and that it is "at variance with the Constitution and law on political parties."

New Czechoslovak Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD0405212690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Belgrade May 4 (CTK correspondent)—Mutual interest in further development and expansion of relations in all spheres between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was stressed here today when new Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia Frantisek Lipka presented his credentials to Yugoslav President Janez Drnovsek.

The two representatives agreed that after Czechoslovakia put an end to the rule of one party after the November 17, 1989 revolution, and when similar processes are taking place also in Yugoslavia, qualitatively new conditions for the development of the traditionally good bilateral relations are being created.

1,000 Protest Celebrating Tito Anniversary

AU0405143490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 May 90

[Nebojsa Spajic report from Belgrade]

[Text] [Announcer] The 10th anniversary of Josip Broz Tito's death has been accompanied by attempts to organize demonstrations in Belgrade. Here is our reporter Nebojsa Spajic in the center of Belgrade:

[Spajic] About 1,000 demonstrators have just crossed Terazije. They are shouting slogans against Josip Broz Tito and the Communists and singing national and nationalist songs, which include some that recall Draza Mihailovic [wartime Chetnik commander].

This actually involves two groups of demonstrators who have joined together. That is to say, opposition parties earlier organized protests on Republic Square and in front of the SFRY Assembly building at 1500 [1300 GMT] against ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of Tito's death. The militia has not yet intervened and are only (?directing) traffic.

Tito Called 'War Criminal'

LD0505094490 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 5 May 90 p 12

[Michael Montgomery report from Belgrade]

[Text] Wailing sirens commemorated the 10th anniversary yesterday of the death of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. The occasion falls amid unprecedented calls for the burial of the complex political system he created. In Belgrade, thousands of protesters, many from extreme Serbian nationalist groups, massed in front of parliament with placards calling Tito a war criminal.

The protesters also demanded his remains be transferred from Belgrade to his native village in Croatia.

As the sirens rang out, the demonstrators roared applause, raised victory signs and set up a chant: "Tito-Ceausescu" and "Tito was Fascist".

Police looked on idly as the demonstrators marched through Belgrade waving red, blue and white Serbian flags and singing once-banned nationalist songs.

The rally, one of the biggest anti-Tito protests in Yugoslavia, was organised by the extremist Serbian National Renewal party and the newly-formed Radical party and Serbian Youth Block.

Traditional enmity between Serbs and Croats lies behind much of Serbia's anti-Tito feeling. But the common feeling among many Yugoslavs is that his four decades of unchallenged rule pushed the country to the edge of collapse.

The attacks on Titoism have occurred after a decade of painful soul-searching.

The emergence of ambitious nationalist leaders vying for Tito's mantle, first in Serbia and recently in Croatia, has only worsened the political deadlock among the country's six feuding republics.

In the words of Mr Milovan Djilas, Yugoslavia's best-known dissident and one-time Tito confidant: "The entire political legacy of Tito has fallen apart."

Speculation is rampant, perhaps predictably so, comparing the rich lifestyle of a man once called "the last of the Hapsburgs" with those of Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov.

Petitions are being circulated in several republics demanding the removal of Tito place-names, including the Montenegrin capital, Titograd.

2d Round of Croatian Election Begin

LD0605074290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Srebo-Croatian 0719 GMT 6 May 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)—Polling stations opened throughout Croatia at 0800 for the second round of the first postwar multiparty elections in this republic. Citizens are today electing representatives and deputies for all the seats in the chambers of municipalities and sociopolitical chambers of municipal and city assemblies, as well as the Croat Assembly, which were not filled after the first round. [passage omitted providing details on the number of candidates; polling stations will close at 1800 GMT, and delegates for the Chamber of Associated Labor will be elected on 7 May]

Low Voter Turnout

LD0605222390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2127 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, May 6 [TANJUG]—According to still incomplete results on the second round of parliamentary elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia available this evening, the voters' turnout is lower than in the first round, when 84 per cent of voters came to the polls.

In almost one-half of the 86 Croatian districts, only a third of the 3.5 million voters cast their ballots by 17:00 hours local time (15:00 hours GMT). The expectations that nearly one million voters who abstained from the first round will decide the elections in the run-off, were obviously not fulfilled.

In the second round of Croatian elections, 585 candidates of 28 parties compete for 210 seats in all three chambers of parliament.

Today Croats voted for 111 deputies in the Socio-political Chamber and the Municipal Chamber, while tomorrow employees elect 99 deputies to the Chamber of Associated Labour.

The polling stations closed at 20:00 hours local time, and the first election results will be announced around 14:00 hours local time (12:00 GMT) tomorrow.

Chairman of the republican vote-counting committee Milko Gajski told a press conference that the rule of "election silence" will apply for all parties until Monday midnight. The measure is aimed at preventing misinterpretations that could arise from incomplete results.

At the first multi-party elections in Croatia in 50 years, held on April 23 and 24, the right-wing nationalist opposition Croatian Democratic Union (CDU), headed by former Tito's general Dr Franjo Tudjman, won 30 per cent in the 356-seat parliament.

The ring [as received] League of Communists of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes (LCC-PDC) led by Ivica Racan won 13 seats and another three in alliance with the socialists. The Coalition of People's Accord (CPA) headed by former champions of the Croatian Maspok Movement won only three seats.

The CDU is expected to secure an absolute majority in the run- off, enabling it to form the republican government.

Istrian People's Party Forms in Pula

LD0405213190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 May 90

[Summary] The Republican Secretariat for Administration and Justice today registered another political organization: the Istrian People's Party [Istarska Pucka Stranka], which is a part of the Croat Peasant Party [Hrvatska Seljacka Stranka—HSS] headquartered in Pula.

Tudjman Guarantees 'No Revanchism'

AU0605210090 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 May 90 pp 12-15

[Interview with Croatian Democratic Community President Franjo Tudjman by Marinko Culic; place and date not given: "I Guarantee, There Will Be No Revanchism"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Culic] Several days ago you were talking about a nationality disequilibrium in the public services, on the television, and in trade unions. Now you mention Podravska Slatina as an example. Do you not think that the insistence on the nationality disequilibrium could cause a fear of revanchism?

[Tudjman] There will be no revanchism whatsoever! We can guarantee this because we are aware that all these people were in fact a blind tool in the hands of the creators of such policies. After all, when I was arrested in

1972, there were seven Serbs among the policemen. I did not blame them, but the system and its policies. One should, therefore, change the policies that led to such situations, that created divisions between the Croatian and Serbian peoples. We need to create normal conditions in which the nationality composition of the services will correspond to the nationality composition of the population. [passage omitted]

[Culic] Will you treat Serbs as a minority?

[Tudjman] I would not want go into this now. This is a constitutional-legal problem and should be resolved in the Assembly. In any case, I and other leading people of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] will insist that citizens' and ethnic rights of the Serbs in Croatia, as well as those of other people who live here, are guaranteed in the spirit of general democratic principles.

[Culic] Then how do you see the statements made by some of your prominent members and activists that now that the Turks have left, the Serbs should also return to Serbia?

[Tudjman] We have dissociated ourselves from all extreme phrases on several occasions. I personally do not believe that any of our prominent members would have come up with something like this. In any case, we will not demand anybody's emigration, nor the expulsion of Serbs. I guarantee this.

[Culic] How will you cooperate with Milan Kucan, who is a Communist? Would have you been more pleased if Janko Pucnik had won?

[Tudjman] I would have been more pleased for formal reasons only. I would not say that Kucan's views concerning Yugoslavia and events in the world are not basically acceptable. On the whole, there are no essential differences between what is advocated by Slovene politicians and what the CDC strives for.

[Culic] You probably refer to the stands you arrived at during the recent meeting in Otocec between the representatives of the Slovene and Croatian opposition, that is, Demos and the CDC.

[Tudjman] Yes, we achieved a high degree of unanimity on all questions concerning the future of Yugoslavia and its social organization.

[Culic] The talks in Otocec concluded that the idea of Yugoslavism is finished. Is this really true considering that the representatives of the two sides also stated that this idea, in fact, originated in Slovenia and Croatia?

[Tudjman] Yes, I think that this is the end of the idea of Yugoslavism as we have known it in practice hitherto. Those who do not understand this also do not understand everything that is now happening in Croatia and Slovenia. Let us understand each other; I am not saying that this is the end of all types of Yugoslavia that can exist. I am only talking about the end of the idea of Yugoslavism as the compulsory brotherhood that one needs to slave for, about the end of maintaining Yugoslavia at any cost.

[Culic] Nevertheless, there are some views that the CDC is breaking up Yugoslavia by placing the emphasis on nationalism. You yourself said that the trend toward integration in the economic sphere and individualism in the national sphere are present throughout the world. Is this what is now being attempted here in Croatia, that is, in Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] Yes, this is in fact what we want to achieve. We favor a free market within Yugoslavia and are against the centralist extortions of national income from Croatia. Since 1918 this extortion has never been smaller than eight percent, and at times it even reached 25 percent. This led to a frightening economic and demographic regress of Croatia. We now want to put a stop to this, because this is also one of the reasons—if I may return to your previous question—why the idea of Yugoslavism is dead today. A failure to recognize the national identity of Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and other peoples was another reason. There was a tendency toward some kind of socialist Yugoslavism and socialist integration. The proof that these schemes about integration are superseded is the end of the League of Communists. These schemes did not manage to survive even within the same doctrine despite the fact that it was defended with all the means available to such a centralist party as was the League of Communists. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from this: The only thing possible is the cohabitation of sovereign peoples who would agree on what constitutes joint interests so that they can organize their lives correspondingly.

[Culic] This brings us to the concept of a confederation that is favored by the CDC. The CDC has many critics regarding this question. Among them is the Army, which recently said that it will not accept any idea about a confederation, secession, and republican armies, because this would lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

[Tudjman] The Army representatives can have their own view, but the role of the Army in normal democratic countries is not to interfere in internal politics, but only to defend the country from the enemy and threats from outside. If the Army did decide to interfere in internal affairs, this would be in contradiction with the people's rights envisioned by the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. This would, therefore, contradict history and could be dangerous for the people who live here. It could also be dangerous for the Army itself.

[Culic] Could you comment on what you were "personally advised?" Are you in favor of creating a Croatian army?

[Tudjman] Basically yes. Nobody can deny the fact that the armies consisting of one nationality are better in terms of combat readiness than the unitary armies. NATO, which proceeds from this, is an example. As far

as our Army is concerned, I, as a creator of the concept of all-people's defense, can say that our Army was created during the people's liberation war not only on political, but also on national foundations. It is a known fact that during the people's liberation war there were the Slovene, Croatian, and other commands. It is, therefore, clear that even at that time the prevailing view was that the national factor must not be ignored. In Croatia, the Serbs joined partisan units that were fighting under Croatia's flag and not under some nonnational, unitary flags. It is clear from this that the Yugoslav Army was and is the army of all peoples, not only of one nation, and that therefore all attempts to turn it into an armed branch of those striving for the interests of great Serbia must be resolutely rejected. In accordance with all this, we should also change the conditions under which the Army operates today. We are, therefore, in favor of the idea that the conscripts from Croatia should do their military service in Croatia. After all, this is only contributing to the safety of the country, because the Croats will be motivated to defend Croatia only if they are satisfied with the situation in Croatia, just as the Slovenes will be motivated to do same if they live in a Slovenia that they want.

[Culic] Do you think that the Army will accept your concept?

[Tudjman] It must accept it, otherwise it could only use arms to oppose democratic movements in Croatia, Slovenia, and the whole of Yugoslavia. To intervene with arms would not only be dangerous, but also futile. Just look at the Kosovo example, where the Army is perhaps in the position to prevent a civil war, but is not able to ensure the realization of the aims of the great Serbian politics in this province. [passage omitted]

[Culic] We did not intend to talk about that, but about something else: How do you plan to cooperate with the parts of the country in which pluralism has not penetrated yet or is only gaining in pace now? Do you think that you will be able to cooperate with the Communists in various bodies at the national level?

[Tudjman] I believe in a democratic transformation of Serbia. Or, to be more precise, I do not think that democratic transformation can be delayed for long. However, speaking from our past experiences, for us in Croatia it is not important who is in power in Serbia. What is important for us is to create a sovereign Croatia that will not be slave to any utopias and national ideas. As regards our neighbors, it is up to us to regulate our relations that would be of mutual benefit. For us it is not important whether Slobodan Milosevic or somebody else is in power there. This is a matter for the Serbian people to decide. If we were against Milosevic exporting the "antibureaucratic revolution" to Croatia, we are also against Croats telling the Serbian people who should they elect as their legal representatives. Croatia has had enough of the illusions that we should wait for changes to take place in Serbia so that Serbia and Croatia could find a common language. Past experience shows that there are no such democratic forces among other nations that we should rely on to solve our own problems.

[Culic] Does this mean that in the future Croatia will not be interested in the problem of Kosovo?

[Tudjman] We are interested in Kosovo's problems because we respect human rights everywhere, including Kosovo, but we will not, because of the problems that exist in Kosovo, neglect the problems of Croatian people, something that used to happen in the past.

[Culic] Will you try to scrap the fund for undeveloped regions?

[Tudjman] Absolutely. We will no longer allow Croatian money to go to other places while a quarter of Zagreb's citizens live without running water and sewers, while large areas of Croatia are impoverished, and many people are without jobs.

[Culic] Prior to the elections, all opposition parties, including yours, agreed that these elections should quickly be followed by another election. This would lead to a new one-house assembly for which the majority strives and would at the same time offer a "return game" to the parties that did not fare all that well in these elections. If you assume power, will you set the date for new elections soon?

[Tudjman] The present composition of the Assembly is indeed untenable, because it reflects bureaucratic relations that were present up to now, and because it put different categories of voters in an unequal position. Therefore, in principle we are in favor of holding new elections as soon as possible, but this is closely linked to constitutional changes and problems that we need to tackle. [passage omitted]

[Culic] You commented on Ante Markovic's program of reforms on several occasions. Now after the first round of elections, it is becoming topical as to what kind of stand you will take toward him personally. Will you demand from him to take into consideration the new situation in the republic from which he comes and adapt his politics with regard to the new authority?

[Tudjman] We said what we thought about Markovic's program. We support his program as long as it promotes economic laws, a free market, and the rule of law. We are not in favor of it when it tries to renew centralization in the country, when it tries to undermine the republics' levels of attained rights. We are strongly against this, not only because in principle we are in favor of creating confederal relations, but also because Markovic is forgetting that somebody else will come after him and that he could endanger Croatia's interests even more. As regards Markovic's attitudes toward the new authority in Croatia, one should certainly expect him to take into consideration the new circumstances.

[Culic] Does Seks' [Vladmir Seks, one of the more prominent CDC members] claim that if the CDC assumes power it will ask for Suvar's replacement hold any truth?

[Tudjman] On the basis of how Suvar has conducted himself hitherto and the kind of statements he has recently made, the Croatian Assembly will probably discuss this question.

Racan Discusses Croat Election's First Round

AU0605160490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29-30 Apr, 1-2 May 90 p 9

[Interview with Ivica Racan, Central Committee president of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes, by VJESNIK reporters Mladen Plese and Zoran Daskalovic; place and date not given: "We Will Be a Strong and Qualitative Opposition"]

[Excerpts] [VJESNIK] What, in your opinion, have been the basic characteristics of the first round of elections in Croatia?

[Racan] If I were to assess the elections solely from the point of view of the interests of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes [LCC-PDC], the conclusion could be that we can be satisfied with having won the support of almost a third of the voters in Croatia and, I believe, at least as many places in the Assembly. However, this would not be enough to give a general assessment of the elections, because in this respect we must view what has actually happened because of the elections in relation to the political scene as a whole. In this regard, it could be said that the election results were a definite surprise. [passage omitted]

It is very worrying that in the elections themselves it was almost meaningless who the candidate was or what qualities they had, and it was not even a decisive factor if the candidates had some exceptionally compromising traits or things in their life and work that would not have allowed them to succeed in a developed, democratic society. I believe that in the second round of voting the personality of the candidates will be more prominent. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] How do you assess the election results of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], the Coalition of National Understanding, and the LCC-PDC?

[Racan] I want to stress, first of all, that I do not agree with the interpretation that has a definite anticommunist ring to it, that the LCC-PDC was defeated in the first round of the elections. One could speak about something different, that the defeat of other parties has impoverished the political scene, but one could not speak about the defeat of the LCC-PDC. Almost one-third of the electorate voted for us. I am sure that had we remained the old party, we would have won considerably fewer votes. I am also sure that had we managed to carry out a transformation as far as the grass roots along the line of reforms, we would also have received greater support from citizens than we did. We had a paradoxical situation the whole time: Because of its reform transformation in the last few months, the LCC-PDC has been the target of criticism and attacks from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as from its "own" administration and state bodies, while at the same time it was accused of being in an unequal and privileged position because, you see, "it had the power" on its side.

The CDC undoubtedly won, what was for many, a surprising number of votes and places in the first round. However, this is not in any way enough—and the figures show this—for us to dance a victory dance, and it amounts to pure manipulation for its leaders to announce that the elections have been resolved.

Certainly, the votes that the CDC is winning—and we do not want in any way to downplay the good result that it has achieved—were not, however, only on the merit of its policy, and I would say that the CDC candidates are the least responsible for this. The merit for this goes to those who gave their vote to the CDC, above all, because they were voting against a certain current in Croatia and I would even say an attitude toward Croatia in Yugoslavia that has arisen particularly recently. We are also talking here about dissatisfaction with the "policy of silence" and the lukewarm attitude to greater Serbian and hegemonistic pretensions.

It is certain that apart from the strategy of winning power in an aggressive way and "playing" on weak points and compromising the previous authority, there were still all sorts of things here that contributed to the great number of votes for the CDC.

The electoral results of the coalition were an unpleasant surprise for many people and for us, too.

This was probably influenced by many things, ranging from the lack of a more specific political profile and identity of the coalition to even an excessive multiplicity of stands ranging from highly emotional and, I would say, nationally charged and radical right-wing stands to calm, sober, and liberal stands. This multiplicity was less indicative of the democratic structure of the coalition than of an amorphous and uncrystallized profile. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Are you happy with the preelection campaign?

[Racan] It could be said that our election campaign was defensive, even to a certain extent against our will. It was slightly under pressure from the vociferous criticism that was leveled at us because of the historical burdens that we do actually bear, as well as the burdens that have been exaggerated and imputed. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, the electoral strategy was decidedly aggressive and offensive, particularly as regards the CDC. I would say that in the democratic atmosphere and

relations, all sorts of things happened on the eve of the elections and in the elections themselves, which did not affirm but compromise and directly negate democratic development. We are talking about the certain aggressiveness and militancy of the CDC, in this case, and particularly about the way of presenting the electoral results —for propaganda purposes and for the use of the party—to the advantage of promoting the interests of one's own party and spreading the idea that everything is over and the elections are resolved. In our opinion, the most scandalous thing was that on one side you had a formulated, so-called electoral silence and on the other it was crudely suppressed by aggressive selection, propaganda, and the presentation of partial election results for two chambers, and this was at the time when the elections were being held for the third chamber.

This was a direct attack on the principle of electoral silence. As regards these and similar reproaches, we, for example, were simply ignored in this respect. In communes where the election results were not to our liking, we, for example, did not express our doubts about these results to the election commission through our members and demand a recount: Neither in this nor in any other way did we prevent the result that did not suit us from being publicized. We did not do this. The other side did this. We have many examples of such behavior in these elections—which we do not assess as correct and a contribution to the dignity and the necessary minimum standard of the elections—and we will not agree to such weaknesses and the negation of the principle of equality in the elections continuing into the second round. We will demand that the electoral material be put under special supervision in order to later establish the number of these irregularities and errors. We will particularly express our disagreement with the latest escalation in "voters' mobility" and "supplementing" voters' lists between the first and second rounds of the elections. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] How will the election results reflect on Croatia's immediate future? Is there a danger of revanchism?

[Racan] Well, since I would not like to anticipate them, it is difficult for me to answer that at this moment. I would say in any case that it would be very bad if the votes in the elections are used for revanchism, for the settling of political accounts, and for an attack on sections of one's own people. I can say at the moment that that would be an abuse of the democratic opening up of this region. However, in a multiparty system, both those who hold power on the basis of the will of citizens and those who are in opposition to this power must be aware of their responsibility in this system. Both the authorities and the opposition have their own role and function in this system, and any negation of this role or function would also mean a negation of the multiparty system and democracy. If the LCC-PDC becomes the opposition, we will endeavor to be a strong, competent, and qualitative opposition that is aware of its responsibilities for the functioning of the multiparty system and social development. We will be the same if we are not the opposition, that is, if we are given the mandate to rule. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] What do you think about the announced protest meetings against the election results, that is, against the possibility that the CDC will win them?

[Racan] [passage omitted] If the announced action takes place against the election results in Croatia—and we are not only talking about rallies—this is aimed solely at consolidating right-wing and nationalist forces in Croatia, just as this has been the case so far. We have clearly said this more than once. In this respect, I would like to say—without wishing to be a prophet—that I am sure that if the processes taking place in both Croatia and Slovenia continue successfully, if they are not compromised, if they are not stopped by the right-wing totalitarian forces within Slovenia and Croatia, and if they are not annulled by the irresponsible and adventurist policy of a possible power, on the one hand, and if, on the other hand, the intransigent dogmatic defense of Yugoslavia and socialism in Yugoslavia continues, if there continues to be a lack of comprehension of the new historical situation and the need for a social transformation, if the policy of impositions and the negation of national equality and the equality of the republics continues, that is to say, if the policy of hegemony continues, it is not difficult to predict that perhaps even within one year the possibilities of democratic socialism conceived from part of the left-wing socialist forces in the West will be in a far better position and will be more deeply rooted in the "northwestern republics" of Slovenia and Croatia than in other parts of Yugoslavia. It could be shown that in such a situation these parts of Yugoslavia will be closer to Romania, and not only geographically.

Indeed, in such a situation, the question would again be raised of what is happening to Yugoslavia and the possibility of integration in Yugoslavia. All those who declare that they care about Yugoslavia and socialism in Yugoslavia must be aware of this. Therefore, it seems to me that in the LCC-PDC we should work on and continue our tasks and efforts in defending our democratic and reform policy, opposing all imputations, insinuations, aspersions, and accusations. Despite the daily oscillations and mood, I am sure that the reform forces—the democratic forces rallied together in the LCC-PDC—do exist and are spreading. They are acquiring new justification and stimulus for their work—and not the opposite—and I believe that this will be demonstrated after the elections, regardless of the outcome. And as far as this is concerned, you can hold me to my word.

Reasons for Fear and Anxiety

[VJESNIK] Some people who are members of your party fear that they will lose not only their posts but also their jobs simply because they are members of your party. There is a similar feeling among the part of the population that is not ethnic Croatian that many people will

have to leave their jobs because of the so-called establishment of national parity in Croatia since they are members of other nationalities. What do you think about this fear?

[Racan] This fear and anxiety really were apparent on the eve of the elections, and I would say it still is now that the results of the first round of elections are being publicized. I would like to be able to say now that this fear and anxiety are unjustified. I hope that certain frenzied statements and certain threats made at meetings are only rhetorical. [passage omitted]

As regards the LCC-PDC, we will do everything in this respect—regardless of whether we are in opposition or in power—to oppose an undemocratic policy that has elements of neofascism. I am sure that the Croatian people will demonstrate exceptionally great strength in rejecting such a policy that hurts and humiliates it.

I believe that once this preelection hullabaloo has died down a little, cooler heads and thoughts—particularly in facing the real problems of life, production, living standards, and people's existential problems—will be on the daily political scene, and there will be fewer irresponsible and nationalistic statements, which in the final analysis are leveled at one's own people.

Because of this, I will say finally that along with many others, Ivica Racan will also defend the outcome of the elections, as long as this outcome provides for the desired social changes, peace, and security of the citizens of Croatia and tolerance among and the cohabitation of people who think differently politically and are members of different social groups. Indeed, I will not defend this outcome, or rather, policy that is "supported" by the elections if it tolerates or even promotes totalitarianism or Ustasha politics.

The Complex Being of Croatia

[VJESNIK] The results of the first round of the elections show that Croatia is definitely regionalized politically and even divided. This is already the source of different tensions. Do you think that in the future these tensions could acquire even more radical dimensions?

[Racan] I think that it is dangerous for Croatia if the complex structure of the national being of Croatia is ignored. Many historical, cultural, economic, and developmental circumstances have influenced the complex and layered structure of Croatia and the Croatian people, and to ignore this reality in fact amounts to violence against Croatia and the Croatian people. Many particularities and certain specificities have not arisen by chance on our territory and among this people. As is well known, we advocate cultural regionalism, we respect regional characteristics, and for us certain parts of Croatia cannot be described by simplistic geographical terms like southern Croatia, western Croatia, northern Croatia, and so on.

Therefore, my party does not accept hasty attempts to strengthen the differences that exist within Croatia so that they amount to autonomism and a threat to national identity, but equally, we do not accept attempts at the obvious—and this is one traditional tendency among Croats—unification and unitarization of Croatia, as well as centralization on the political scene. This ignores the wealth of the cultural, economic, and even emotional life in the Croatian people and ignores their multilayered structure. I think that any policy that wants to be a national policy must deal with this, but I think that this is also an obstacle to any nationalist and unitarist policy in Croatia.

Slovene Parties Fail To Agree on Candidates

LD0605224490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2046 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May (TANJUG)—At their second meeting this evening, representatives of the political parties in Slovenia: Demos, the Democratic United Opposition of Slovenia, the ZSMS-Liberal Party [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation-Liberal Party], the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Renewal [SKS-SDP], and the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia again failed in their attempt to reach an agreement on candidates for the leading posts in the Republic of Slovenia Assembly.

The meeting was designed to reach an agreement on candidates for leading functions in the republic's Assembly on the eve of the first session of the newly elected deputies, which is taking place in Ljubljana on 7 May. Demos representative Joze Pucnik stressed today that Demos insists and will continue to insist on its proposals made on 4 May, under which the president of the republic's Assembly should be Demos member Dr. France Bucar; both the president of the Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber and vice president of the Chamber of Municipalities should also be from Demos. Pucnik added that he also proposed that one of the assembly vice presidents should come from the ZSMS and the other from the SKS-SDP. Under another proposal by Demos, the Chamber of Municipalities president should be from the Liberal Party and the vice president from Demos; the Socialist Alliance representative should occupy the post of Sociopolitical Chamber vice president.

Representatives of the other three parties, the Liberal Party, the SKS-SDP, and the Socialist Alliance, considered the proposals as unacceptable and, according to Jozef Skolc, Liberal Party representative, they were seen more as the laying of conditions and allocation of posts than an attempt at reaching agreement. I am surprised, Skolc said, that the former opposition is now advocating the old principle of governing in Slovenia.

Replying to Skolc, Dr. Pucnik added that the proposals put forward by Demos were in no way an attempt at allocating posts, rather that was an attempt at distributing posts. If we fail to reach an agreement on our

proposals, Pucnik added, we have no choice but to draw up a list of candidates for the seven most- responsible posts in the Assembly and put it to vote in the Assembly on 7 May.

Dr. Ribicic stressed that the SKS-SDP would not take part in such an unjust battle and that its deputies would not attend the 7 May session. We all know what consequences this could have for the functioning of the Assembly.

Despite Demos' effort to convince the representatives of the other three parties that they also wanted to come to an agreement providing their proposals were accepted, no other subsequent combination was accepted. According to Dr. Pucnik, the failure to accept Demos' proposals indicates that no agreement would be possible and that the overall situation was not conducive to a rational agreement.

In view of the fact that the parties failed again tonight to reach an agreement on candidates for top assembly posts in the Republic of Slovenia Assembly, the three Assembly chambers will on 6 May carry out their activities under the set agenda and according to a provisional procedure book, Miran Potrc said, bringing the meeting to a conclusion.

ZSK-SDP Central Committee Meets

LD0605214390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May (TANJUG)—The election results, the composition of the new Slovene Assembly and of the republic's Presidency, and the election of Milan Kucan as Slovene Presidency president can all be seen as an expression of the Slovene people's aspirations to achieve a stable and socially safe transition to democracy and an economically more successful confederal Slovenia. This was stressed by Peter Bekes, Presidium member of the ZSK-[League of Communists of Slovenia] the Party of Democratic Renewal [ZSK-SDP] at a session of the ZSK-SDP Central Committee, which today delivered its first assessment of the outcome of elections in Slovenia.

Bekes added that the outcome would guarantee the continuation of democratic reforms and would eliminate the need for unnecessary conflicts, for gambling with people's destiny, for revenge, and for everything else that could lead to new divisions. After the elections, the party will concentrate its activities on the Assembly and on enhancing the party's chances at the next elections. To this end, the party will adjust its organizational structure to become a modern, democratic, and Europe-oriented party of the left that will work together with political parties of similar orientations in Slovenia, Yugoslavia, and Europe to restore people's confidence in democratic socialism.

Bekes went on to stress that recent elections could not be described as elections in the proper sense of the word since there was a whole series of factors, coincidencies, irrational sentiments and the like that influenced the electorate's "will." Having noted the ZSK-SDP successes in fulfilling its set goals in the elections, Bekes said that by free and multiparty elections the ZSK-SDP had succeeded in providing conditions for and guaranteeing a transition from a single-party to a multiparty system. The party has a relative majority in the Sociopolitical Chamber, while its greatest successes were scored in the elections for the president and members of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency. As its main opponent, the ZSK-SDP had the Demos, and the heaviest burden it had grappled with in the election campaign was the burden of its own past, Bekes said.

At next election, which may come about surprisingly soon, the present ruling coalition will also have its own tangible political past that it will not be able to misrepresent as it did with some of its mistakes in the election campaign. In the same way that the public quickly forgot some of the ZSK-SDP's political moves—the constitutional amendments, the 14th LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress—which were received positively in any case, it will also, when faced with everyday difficulties that the ruling coalition will have to count on, forget about the criticism of and pandemonium about the past, Bekes stressed.

Today's opposition Demos was "pure" and "unsoiled" with "sins" of dirty politics and everything that goes with it, Peter Bekes said, adding at the same time that the greatest absurdity of the political moment in which the ZKS-SDP finds itself is that formally it has had all levers of power in its hands, and in practice, because of the observance of the constitutional model of nonparty democracy, it has not had them in its hands for a long period of time. The most that can be concluded at this moment is that the balance of political power in Slovenia tipped in favor of right-wing traditional political forces; however, the balance has not been disrupted to such an extent that the position of the ZKS-SDP as a serious, progressive and democratic political party in Slovenia is threatened, Bekes assessed. Whether the activity of party delegates, and in particular of its expert backup team, would be successful will depend on whether they will follow daily and professionally moves of the ruling political coalition in all areas, Bekes said, and went on to add that success also depends on whether we are prepared to act as responsible, active, and constructive opposition. This poses a tasks for us to consider seriously the need and possibilities for the formation of a so-called shadow government. At the moment there are more reasons for than against this.

Bekes drew attention to party weaknesses in the preelection campaign, such as insufficient media presence, the abolition of its own papers, and differing levels of preparedness of party candidates. The creation of a new ZKS-SDP image commenced well with the elections, Peter Bekes concluded.

Before Bekes' introductory speech, ZKS-SDP Central Committee President Ciril Ribicic, in opening the session, thanked everyone who helped at the elections, all those who supported party candidates and strengthened its position. After the election period, which resulted in the ZSK-SDP becoming an opposition party, now a new period begins that, as Ribicic put it, will be dedicated to reorganization, that is, the modernization and rationalization of the party, activity in the legislature, and preparations for new elections battles.

The session considered the proposed activity of party deputies in the Slovene Republic Assembly and adopted the proposed temporary regulations for the activity of the ZSK-SDP Assembly delegates. The group will be led by Miran Potrc, who stressed that an agreement in principle about the group's role and activity, about ensuring a collective and open character of deputies' work, is needed. Such delegates' groups should also be formed in municipal assemblies. Sonja Lokar talked about the further process of party reorganization and rationalization of party apparatus, stressing at the same time, above all, that the territorial principle of organization should be implemented, that a party paper should be set up, and direct communication should be secured. Special attention will be paid to a working group for reallocating surplus workers.

Lev Kreft was elected member of the ZKS-SDP Central Committee. At the initiative of Zeljko Cigler, a special delegation, that is, a political protest, about the employment of firearms at borders was read. The Central Committee Presidium will discuss the declaration at its next session, it was concluded.

Serbian National Renaissance Party Forms

LD0605183890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Topola, 6 May (TANJUG)—Serbian National Renaissance [Srpska Narodna Obnova] members, at today's assembly at Oplenac [a montain near Topola, where king Petar I built a church in which members of the Karadjordjevic dynasty were buried], adopted the party program and statute, and elected the party leadership and 215-members-strong regional committee, consisting of representatives of regional organizations from the entire country. According to the original plan, only party representatives should have attended the assembly. However, on a sunny day, between 2,000 and 3,000 people, including party sympathizsers and tourists, gathered.

Mirko Jovic, heretofore acting party chairman, greeted the gathered representatives and other party members, stressing that so far 388,000 people have joined the party. He underlined tthat hese are the times when Serbia will need "Topola, Rudnik, and Ravna Gora [symbols of strong Serbian national identity] because enemies of Serbia are trying to use confusion and the vacuum created by the democratization of the society for realizing their evil intentions of enslaving the Serbian people." His message to his party oponents was that they could not form independent states in territories soaked with, as he put it, the blood of Serbian soldiers.

The adopted program states, among other things, that the Serbian National Renaissance, the conscience and the future of Serbia, will advocate a confederation with Croatia and Slovenia, in which Serbia will have its own army and police and the right to secession. Serbia would have its 1918 borders, and would annex parts of the country where Serbian population was in majority in April 1941. It would be a multiparty constitutional parliamentary kingdom divided into three duchies; its symbol would be a two-headed white Naemanjic [medieval Serbian dynasty] eagle with the crown of Petar Karadjordjevic on the top. Its national anthem would be "God, Gives Us Justice," which opened the assembly.

Regarding foreign relations, the party is advocating forging links with Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Israel, the United States, Canada, and other, mainly, Christian countries. It favors severing relations with Muslim countries and all those espousing jihad [holy war]. Secret Masonic lodges should be legalized; those remaining secret, should be severely punished. The party seeks its supporters in particular among peasants and women, to whom it promises prosperity, although it does not state how it would achieve it. However, it was said that a detailed party program, especially its economic and social parts, will be further developed in the future.

One gets the impression the party program is interesting for dissatisfied parts of the population, on whom the party, in its intention—which was heard today, too—to win the power in the country, is counting. Its election slogan is "If we are moving forward, follow us; if they kill us, avenge us; if we stop, kill us."

Mirko Jovic, hitherto acting party chairman, was elected the party chairman with tumultuous applause. Five vice chairmen were also elected, as well as three secretaries. Lawyer Aleksandar Spasic was elected the party secretary general.

Serb Official on Democratic Elections

AU0705151590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 May 90 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Democratic Elections in Serbia"]

[Text] Bonn—The West German news agency DPA cites Aleksandar Prlja, Serbian republican foreign affairs secretary, as having said the following: "In approximately six months, we will carry out democratic elections in which all parties will be allowed to run."

DPA adds that Prlja has also said that in order to make possible multiparty elections, the Constitution will be amended soon and the Assembly will have only one chamber in the future.

The West German news agency says that "in this statement, observers see the penetration of democracy in

Serbia and recalls that in multiparty elections in Croatia and Slovenia, Communists were pushed into opposition.

Kosovo Officials Discuss Economic Situation

LD0505192190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Pristina, May 5 (TANJUG)—Kosovo's economy is in a very difficult situation—it was assessed today at a session of officials of the Kosovo Province government, the chamber of the economy, and banks. In the first quarter, its industrial output and exports declined 15 and 36 per cent.

Economy in the province also is characterized by large losses as shown in annual financial statements, and by its inadequate adjustment to reform demands. More problems are posed by insolvency, lack of revolving capital, and slowed sales of textile and other articles.

Kosovo Albanians Attack Serbia's Policy

LD0405203890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1422 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Pristina, May 4 (TANJUG) —At a press conference in Yugoslavia's southern Province of Kosovo today, representatives of ethnic Albanian alternative political organisations launched another attack on the policy of the republican leadership of Serbia and police measures taken against ethnic Albanians.

Zekerijah Cana, spokesman for the Kosovo Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, said he would supply evidence that the police maltreated ethnic Albanians at their gatherings at which disputed ethnic Albanian families publicly reconciled under an old custom among ethnic Albanians, who are still greatly influenced by their specific tradition.

Under a decision of the Yugoslav state presidency, special measures have recently been lifted and political prisoners released in Kosovo, while the state organs of the Republic of Serbia, part of which is Kosovo, took over power in the province.

Speaking about the recent testimonies of members of ethnic Albanian alternative movements and some Serbian intellectuals, Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the biggest Kosovo opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, said that the United States could open a consulate in Pristina, but that everything depended on the U.S. Administration stand and U.S.-Yugoslav relations.

Kucan Drops CC Membership To Fulfill Duties

LD0605184890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 6 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May (TANJUG)—At its session today the ZKS-Party of Democratic Renewal [ZKS-Stranka Demokratske Obnove] Central Committee reaffirmed its decision to end Milan Kucan's membership in the ZKS-SDP Central Committee following his election as Republic of Slovenia Presidency president.

The initative to adopt this conclusion was set in motion by the ZSK-SDP Central Committee Presidium, in agreement with Milan Kucan himself, to enable him to carry out his new functions in an appropriate way by releasing him from his tasks and duties as a ZSK-SDP Central Committee member.

Markovic Explains Economic Program

LD0405212590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 4 May 90

[Text] Mexico City, 4 May (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will "follow its path, on which it has already achieved such major results, so that there is no doubt that it will be the first country that had a socialist system to get out of its crisis," Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic stated. In the interview with Regino Diaz Redondo, director of the Mexican paper EXCELSIOR, Markovic confirmed that there are no initiatives for the word socialist to be dropped from the country's name, adding that for him personally what counts is the character of the new system and not its name.

The Federal Executive Council president explained in detail to the Mexican paper the new economic program of the Yugoslav government. He underscored the convertibility of the dinar as the main feature of the system. He also drew attention to the results of new economic moves, among which he especially noted the $2.5 billion increase in Yugoslav foreign currency reserves since the implementation of the new economic program began. Today Yugoslav foreign currency reserves amount to $8.1 billion, Ante Markovic specified. He cited that in a year and four months, Yugoslavia serviced $4.2 billion of foreign debt, "while at the same time, we have not received a single dollar of aid."

Asked about Yugoslavia joining the EC, Ante Markovic recalled that Yugoslavia has agreed with the EC to receive the status of "associate member." "We are quite capable of entering that process because we have achieved the convertibility of the dinar and have liberalized imports," he said. However, for Yugoslavia to join the EC, it must further "build a taxation system compatible with the one in force in the community, as well as compatible protection and patent policies and a policy that must set appropriate standards."

Mitrovic Outlines Government Program Results

LD0505191890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1705 GMT 5 May 90

[Text] Makarska, Yugoslavia, May 5 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government in its program is in favour of a multi-party system, while the parties that have been the most successful in their election campaigns also do not

reject the orientation of the federal government, Yugoslav Vice-Premier Aleksandar Mitrovic told reporters at an international meeting of tourism workers in Makarska.

Multi-party elections have recently been held in the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

The aim of the Yugoslav Government program is to stabilize the entire economy, Mitrovic said, adding that a 0.2-per cent deflation was recorded in April.

The country's foreign currency reserves at present exceed 8.3 billion dollars, and are expected to reach 12 billion dollars by the end of the year, Mitrovic said.

He added that Yugoslavia has already returned a 300-million-dollar portion of its foreign debt. The government plans to reduce the country's debt by as much as three to four billion dollars by the end of the year, which would put Yugoslavia among minor debtors.

In the first four months of this year alone, 1,282 contracts have been signed on joint investments with foreign partners, who participate with an average of 1.4 million deutsche marks per contract, Mitrovic said, adding that the number of contracts signed is expected to total about 2,000 at the end of the year.

Mitrovic also said that the decision on compulsory foreign currency exchange for East European citizens entering Yugoslavia would be reconsidered, making conditions for the tourists' arrival in Yugoslavia more favourable.

Finally, Mitrovic said the government might introduce individual taxes at the rates considerably below those in the West.